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MEMOIRE

DE

L'UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL

A

LA COMMISSION D'ENQUETE

SUR

LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

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PREAMBULE

En répondant à l'invitation de faire connaître ses vues à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, l'Université de Montréal accomplit un devoir envers le pays et envers la population de langue française dont elle représente les intérêts supérieurs dans l'ordre de l'enseignement et de la recherche. Elle est une des plus importantes universités de langue française dans le monde et elle est située dans une ville dont les deux-tiers environ des habitants sont de langue française, mais dont le caractère cosmopolite est de plus en plus évident.

L'expérience de l'Université de Montréal est unique dans le domaine du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. Sans son existence, la population de langue française de la métropole du Canada et de ses environs aurait dû fréquenter les cours d'une université de langue anglaise. Elle est donc largement responsable de la conservation du français comme langue d'enseignement supérieur et de la culture dont cette langue est l'expression. Elle s'est d'abord affirmée par le souci qu'elle a eu de maintenir et d'amplifier le caractère français de l'enseignement professionnel qui a servi à la formation des cadres de la société canadienne-française.

Dans l'ordre des connaissances, elle est aussi en droit de revendiquer le mérite d'avoir éveillé cette population aux réalités du monde moderne dans les domaines des sciences pures et appliquées, des sciences morales et économiques. Si le Québec est parvenu au point où il peut appuyer ses revendications sur des faits bien établis plutôt que sur des théories dont il faudrait démontrer la validité; si ces faits se traduisent en effectifs humains engagés dans l'activité scientifique, économique, sociale et culturelle; si les projets actuellement envisagés ont comme garantes des

réalisations dont la solidité a déjà été éprouvée, la population française du Québec le doit à ses universités et plus particulièrement à celle de Montréal qui, face à la concurrence d'établissements d'enseignement supérieur plus richement dotés et spécialement favorisés par l'industrie, le commerce et la finance canadiennes, a grandi matériellement et intellectuellement, a mérité l'estime des universités canadiennes et étrangères et s'est acquis une réputation enviable dans le monde international.

Institution de langue française, l'Université de Montréal ne réserve pas son enseignement aux seuls étudiants dont le français est la langue maternelle. Pourvu qu'ils puissent comprendre la langue qui est celle de son enseignement, c'est-à-dire le français, et qu'ils fassent l'effort nécessaire pour la parler, elle est ouverte à tous, tant du Canada que de l'étranger. La langue de ses examens peut être l'anglais ou le français même si la préférence est donnée à cette dernière. L'Université de Montréal a ainsi manifesté l'intérêt qu'elle porte au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme. Depuis quelques années, son action dans ce domaine s'est aussi fortement intensifiée grâce aux cours de son Département de linguistique et de l'Extension de son enseignement. Les inscriptions de Montréalais anglophones aux cours de français ont dépassé les prévisions les plus optimistes. Il en fut de même des cours d'anglais pour les francophones; le succès de ces cours est dû à la qualité des maîtres et des méthodes qu'ils ont mises au point pour enseigner rapidement et en profondeur une langue seconde à ceux qui désirent l'apprendre.

Dans le champ de la recherche, plusieurs départements ont consacré une partie de leur activité à des travaux sur le bilinguisme, à la psychologie sociale, aux relations humaines entre groupes de langue et de culture différentes. Plusieurs de ces chercheurs sont actuellement occupés à des

travaux que leur a confiés la Commission royale d'enquête et l'Université est heureuse de faire cette contribution à l'oeuvre qu'accomplissent les membres de cette Commission. La présence de nos professeurs dans les équipes de recherche dispense par ailleurs l'Université de faire connaître son avis sur divers points qui sont du ressort de la recherche et qui font appel davantage à la connaissance des faits qu'aux vues des théoriciens.

L'Université de Montréal est consciente des responsabilités accrues que signifie pour elle la mise en pratique du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme à l'échelle nationale. La formation des maîtres, la mise au point des méthodes d'enseignement, la réalisation du matériel d'enseignement, les échanges de professeurs, les recherches qu'il faudra entreprendre seront un fardeau additionnel car ces diverses tâches ne devront pas ralentir le rythme du progrès dans les autres branches du savoir qui font et continueront de faire l'objet de ses préoccupations.

Le préambule du Rapport intérimaire de la Commission royale d'enquête situe de façon précise le problème du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada. S'il est normal que des tensions se manifestent et qu'éclatent des conflits dans un pays où coexistent deux cultures, l'expérience vécue par les Commissaires en parcourant le pays les a "contraints de conclure que le Canada traverse actuellement, sans toujours en être conscient, la crise majeure de son histoire". Pour peu que cette crise "persiste et s'accroisse, elle peut conduire à la destruction du Canada. Si elle est surmontée, elle peut conduire à la renaissance d'un Canada plus dynamique et plus riche".

La lecture du Rapport et la consultation des tableaux de l'appendice V nous révèlent, d'une part, les opinions exprimées par les divers groupes que les Commissaires ont rencontrés et, d'autre part, le nombre des Canadiens qui, selon leur origine ethnique et les régions qu'ils habitent, se sont dé-

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clarés bilingues lors du recensement décennal de 1961. Les renseignements que nous y avons trouvés orienteront les considérations du mémoire que présente à la Commission l'Université de Montréal. Il sera fondé sur des faits et sur les conséquences que l'on peut légitimement et logiquement en tirer.

Le premier de ces faits est que le bilinguisme est garanti, dans une certaine mesure, par l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord une loi du parlement de Londres qui sert de constitution au Canada. Aucune loi cependant ne force les Canadiens à être bilingues, c'est-à-dire à parler l'anglais et le français qui sont les langues officielles du parlement canadien et des tribunaux de juridiction fédérale. Les provinces, sauf le Québec, sont libres de décréter que l'anglais est la seule langue dont on pourra faire usage dans leurs assemblées législatives et devant les tribunaux qui sont de leur juridiction. Elles sont souveraines aussi dans le choix des langues dont l'enseignement sera officiellement reconnu par les lois qu'elles édicteront.

Dans ces conditions, il n'est pas étonnant que, dans l'ensemble du Canada, il n'y ait environ que quatre pour cent des Canadiens d'origine britannique et un peu plus de cinq pour cent des Canadiens d'autre origine que française ou britannique qui soient bilingues. Par contre, on n'est pas surpris de voir que les Canadiens d'origine française, qui constituent 28 pour cent de la population du Canada, soient bilingues dans une proportion de 30 pour cent. Dans l'ensemble, la population canadienne est bilingue dans une proportion de 12.23 pour cent, grâce surtout à l'apport des Canadiens français du Québec et du Nouveau-Brunswick. Dans chacune des autres provinces, la proportion des bilingues est inférieure à 8 pour cent. La population anglophone du Canada, qu'elle soit d'origine britannique ou autre que française, est presque entièrement unilingue.

L'attitude de cette population anglophone envers le bilinguisme varie selon l'origine ethnique de ses membres et les régions du pays qu'ils habitent. On note en effet que les Canadiens d'origine britannique manifestent à l'endroit de leurs concitoyens de langue française des dispositions d'autant plus favorables qu'ils sont depuis plus longtemps établis au pays, principalement dans les vieilles provinces de l'Ontario et de l'est du Canada. Il n'en est pas de même des populations qui habitent au-delà des Grands Lacs et dont la majorité absolue, sauf en Colombie-britannique, n'est pas d'origine britannique. Un sondage récent de l'Institut canadien de l'opinion publique confirme en tout point ce que les Commissaires ont pu constater eux-mêmes et traduit en chiffres éloquents la division des Canadiens à l'endroit du bilinguisme ou, plus exactement, de l'enseignement obligatoire du français dans les écoles anglaises et de l'anglais dans les écoles françaises. On note d'abord avec satisfaction que, dans l'ensemble du pays, 64 pour cent des adultes de toute origine que l'on a interrogés se sont déclarés favorables à l'enseignement du français tandis qu'en 1943, on n'en comptait que 36 pour cent qui étaient de cet avis. A l'heure actuelle, la répartition géographique de ceux qui s'opposent à l'enseignement obligatoire du français est symptomatique: elle est de 7 pour cent dans le Québec, de 34 pour cent dans l'Ontario et de 63 pour cent dans les provinces de l'Ouest. Si l'on groupe le Québec et les provinces de l'Atlantique, la proportion des opposants est inférieure à 20 pour cent. Il est remarquable aussi de constater que la réponse du Québec est la même aux deux questions: 92 pour cent sont également en faveur de l'enseignement du français dans les écoles anglaises et de l'anglais dans les écoles françaises. Par contre, dans les provinces de l'Ouest, 21 pour cent des personnes interrogées se déclarent opposées à l'enseignement obligatoire de l'anglais dans les écoles du Canada français.

Ces chiffres révélateurs et les expressions d'opinion recueillies par les Commissaires montrent que le nœud de la question du bilinguisme et, par conséquent, du cibulturalisme, est de savoir si le Canada anglophone, de quelque origine qu'il soit mais plus particulièrement la population des provinces occidentales du pays, acceptera que, selon les termes du mandat confié à la Commission royale d'enquête, "la Confédération canadienne se développe d'après le principe de l'égalité entre deux peuples qui l'ont fondée, compte tenu de l'apport des autres groupes ethniques à l'enrichissement culturel du Canada...".

La question étant ainsi posée, les Canadiens français doivent faire connaître clairement et objectivement les arguments qui légitiment leurs revendications. Ils doivent aussi exposer leurs vues sur les conséquences qui résulteront, ou qui pourraient résulter, de l'acceptation ou du rejet de ces revendications par leurs compatriotes.

La notion de bilinguisme est plus complexe que ne le laisse entendre la brève définition du dictionnaire: "coexistence de deux langues dans un même individu, dans un même pays". Tout en laissant aux linguistes, aux psychologues et aux sociologues le soin de l'étudier en profondeur, il saute aux yeux que le phénomène du bilinguisme n'est pas forcément de même nature et n'a pas les mêmes dimensions selon qu'il s'agit des individus et des peuples bilingues. Il suffira d'établir, conformément à l'observation courante, les distinctions utiles à notre argumentation.

On peut être bilingue par choix personnel, en raison des avantages intellectuels ou matériels qu'on tire de la connaissance de deux langues. Il n'est pas rare que des personnes arrivent ainsi à parler, sinon à posséder, plusieurs langues en plus de celle apprise sur les genoux de leur mère. Les uns sont des intelligences supérieures qui, possédant généralement des aptitudes spéciales, recherchent le plaisir et l'enrichissement que leur procurent la connaissance des littératures étrangères et les échanges d'idées avec leurs semblables dans d'autres pays. D'autres, non moins intelligents mais d'une tournure d'esprit plus pratique, font de même afin de faciliter les relations d'affaires et y trouvent leur profit en étant ainsi mieux capables de comprendre la façon de penser et de raisonner de leurs interlocuteurs. Bien que la question soit pertinente, il n'est pas nécessaire de se demander, à propos de ces bilingues volontaires, à quel degré d'excellence ils atteignent sauf pour noter que leur plaisir ou leur intérêt ne sont bien servis que dans la mesure où ils maîtrisent à la fois leur langue maternelle et la langue seconde afin de saisir les nuances de pensée propres à chacune et de se protéger contre les pièges et les embûches de la traduction.

La question se pose de savoir si l'enseignement simultané de deux langues à de jeunes enfants crée ou non de la confusion dans leur esprit et nuit à

la connaissance de la langue maternelle. Selon le docteur Wilder Penfield, dont les travaux sur la localisation du centre de la mémoire dans le cerveau sont bien connus, les enfants sont capables, dès l'âge de cinq ans, de se plier à cette gymnastique et d'en profiter davantage que des enfants plus âgés. D'autre part, des éducateurs québécois prétendent qu'on ne saurait soumettre sans danger des enfants de cet âge à un tel entraînement et que l'on ne devrait leur enseigner une seconde langue qu'après qu'ils auront acquis une solide connaissance de leur langue maternelle. Ceux que l'on expose à cet enseignement ne peuvent distinguer ce qui est propre à chacune, à sa syntaxe, à son génie; de là un vocabulaire hybride, une syntaxe confuse, un manque de précision et de clarté dans la pensée et même un affaiblissement de l'intelligence. Des psychologues américains soutiennent la même thèse et parviennent à la même conclusion. Une équipe de psychologues et de linguistes montréalais est arrivée à des résultats différents. Les enfants bilingues témoignent d'une plus grande facilité à résoudre les problèmes qu'on leur soumet que les enfants unilingues. Comment départager ces avis contradictoires? Il y a là un champ fertile ouvert à la recherche et l'on s'étonne que, dans un pays où le bilinguisme a provoqué de si nombreuses discussions, les éducateurs et les psychologues se soient si peu préoccupés d'en faire le sujet de leurs travaux.

Ceux qui émigrent dans un pays dont ils ne savent pas la langue deviennent bilingues par nécessité; ils apprennent plus ou moins bien celle qu'on y parle et d'autant plus rapidement que, s'ils possèdent par ailleurs certaines aptitudes, ils vivent à l'écart de leurs compatriotes qui ont eux aussi choisi de s'expatrier. Si, dans une grande ville, ces nouveaux venus forment des îlots homogènes, l'acquisition de la langue seconde est plus lente mais il arrive fréquemment que, dans une même famille, la mère ne puisse l'apprendre parce que ses contacts avec le monde extérieur sont limités, que le père n'en sache que ce qu'il faut pour gagner sa vie et que les enfants, en fréquentant l'école, parlent

mieux la langue du pays que leur langue maternelle et qu'ils finissent par ne plus y avoir recours même s'ils la comprennent encore lorsqu'ils l'entendent dans la bouche de leurs parents. En quelques générations, la langue du pays des ancêtres est oubliée. Le cas de nombreux Franco-Américains est typique à cet égard. La survivance des langues étrangères dans le pays d'adoption est néanmoins un phénomène fréquent. Elle est due principalement au maintien des traditions familiales dans un milieu fortement attaché à sa culture, par l'existence des églises nationales et des institutions sociales dont ces dernières sont les animatrices. Le cinéma, enfin, en faisant voir les films tournés dans leurs pays d'origine, entretient l'usage, sinon le culte, de la langue maternelle. Il est à noter que plus la culture du pays d'origine diffère de celle du pays d'adoption, plus grande en général est la persistance sur un sol étranger de la langue parlée par le groupe exilé.

Le bilinguisme est naturellement de pratique plus ou moins courante dans les pays qu'habitent deux peuples dont les langues sont différentes. On dit généralement de ces pays qu'ils sont bilingues, surtout si les lois qui les gouvernent reconnaissent la coexistence des deux langues. Cela ne signifie pas nécessairement que la population de ces pays est bilingue. Il convient donc de distinguer le bilinguisme officiel du pays et celui de ses habitants. Celui du pays, bien qu'inscrit dans les lois, peut souvent n'être qu'une pieuse intention si les conditions de vie d'une part, et les dispositions d'esprit du groupe majoritaire, d'autre part, s'y opposent.

L'Etat présent du Bilinguisme au Canada

Le plaidoyer que nous faisons en faveur du bilinguisme ne nous aveugle pas au point de nier que l'usage de deux langues officielles présente des inconvénients. Tout doit être imprimé et publié dans ces deux langues quand il serait moins coûteux de le faire dans une seule; la traduction des documents publics prend un certain temps et mobilise des équipes de personnes instruites que l'on

pourrait employer à des travaux plus utiles; la réclame et la publicité dans les deux langues obèrent le budget des entreprises. Un bilinguisme intégral supprimerait ces inconvénients car si chacun comprenait et parlait la langue de l'autre, la nécessité de tout traduire n'existerait plus. Mais le bilinguisme intégral est une utopie puisque, selon les lieux et les conditions de vie, il est des gens qui, n'ayant jamais l'occasion de la parler, ne comprennent pas la seconde langue, même s'ils l'ont apprise dans leur enfance. En ferait-on une loi que l'on serait incapable de la faire respecter. Au mieux, il est donc préférable de se contenter d'un bilinguisme partiel tout en évitant que l'un des deux groupes soit toujours le seul à en faire les frais.

Le cas du Canada est typique à cet égard. Les vicissitudes de l'histoire en ont fait un pays britannique dont quelque vingt-huit pour cent de la population est d'origine française. La loi du Parlement britannique qui donna naissance à la Confédération et qui sert de constitution à notre pays décrète que l'anglais et le français peuvent être utilisés dans les débats des chambres des parlements du Canada et du Québec et dans toute cours de justice établie en vertu de cette loi au Canada et dans le Québec; que les comptes rendus des séances du Parlement canadien et des chambres du Québec, ainsi que les lois qu'ils édictent, doivent être rédigés, imprimés et publiés dans les deux langues. C'est donc dans un sens restreint que le Canada est un pays officiellement bilingue. Il serait difficile d'ailleurs qu'il en fût autrement car le peuplement d'un territoire qui a les dimensions d'un continent s'est fait de telle sorte que la très grande majorité de ceux qui parlent français est concentrée dans le Québec, l'est de l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick. Il existe de vastes régions de l'Alberta ou de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, par exemple, où l'on chercherait en vain quelqu'un qui soit d'origine française. Quelles raisons ces gens auraient-ils de parler le français? L'eussent-ils appris que le manque d'occasions d'en faire usage le leur ferait bientôt oublier. Il en est ainsi dans le Québec et même dans une

ville comme Montréal, où des gens qui ont pourtant appris l'anglais à l'école ne le savent plus, faute d'avoir l'occasion de le parler et souvent de le lire.

Il est facile de conclure que dans un pays britannique, voisin d'un pays dont l'anglais est la langue de la presque totalité de ses quelque deux cent millions d'habitants, les Canadiens de langue française sont bilingues par nécessité tandis que la très grande majorité de ceux de langue anglaise n'éprouve aucun besoin de connaître la langue de la minorité. Le fait n'aurait peut-être pas lieu de nous surprendre s'il ne reflétait rien d'autre qu'une inertie, compréhensible à la rigueur, de la part de ceux qui n'ont guère l'occasion d'entrer en contact avec des compatriotes dont un nombre important parlent aussi la langue de la majorité.

Le Canada, tel qu'il est aujourd'hui et tel qu'il devra être s'il doit demeurer uni dans un régime fédératif, ne peut être unilingue. L'anglais est sans doute la langue de la majorité de ses citoyens mais, si les droits de la langue française se réduisent à un petit nombre, ils sont reconnus et même garantis, dans des domaines bien précis, par l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord. Par le fait que cette même loi du Parlement de Londres spécifie que tout ce qui touche à l'éducation est du ressort exclusif des provinces, le Québec s'est donné un système d'enseignement qui, tout en sauvegardant les droits de la minorité protestante, assure la conservation et le progrès de la langue que parle la très grande majorité française de sa population. Le Canada doit donc compter avec l'existence d'une population de langue française dont le nombre atteindra bientôt six millions. Le bilinguisme de modèle réduit que garantissent les lois du pays est dû principalement à la volonté et aux efforts de ce groupe francophone dont le rôle fut décisif dans la conquête des libertés dont jouissent actuellement tous les Canadiens.

Nulle part ailleurs au Canada les droits de la langue française ne sont reconnus bien que, dans les provinces où les Canadiens de langue française constituent, dans certaines régions, une part importante de la population, l'ensei-

gnement du français soit plus ou moins officiellement toléré ou même organisé. L'histoire nous apprend que dès 1890, le Manitoba abrogeait l'article de sa constitution qui faisait du français sa seconde langue officielle et que le Parlement fédéral, qui aurait pu désavouer cette loi injuste, ne l'a pas fait. L'Ontario, en 1912, réduisait à presque rien l'usage du français dans les écoles publiques; bien que les Franco-Ontariens jouissent depuis plusieurs années d'un régime un peu plus libéral, l'enseignement secondaire public n'est encore assuré qu'en anglais. Partout ailleurs que dans le Québec, le français est donc considéré comme une langue étrangère et c'est parfois ainsi qu'on le désigne dans les programmes des études. Pour l'apprendre, les Canadiens français doivent, en plus des taxes qu'ils payent pour maintenir le système d'enseignement en vigueur dans la province qu'ils habitent, payer pour la construction et le fonctionnement d'écoles qui leur appartiennent mais dont les diplômes, si elles peuvent en décerner, n'ont aucune valeur officielle. Les citoyens de langue française de ces provinces sont-ils des Canadiens de seconde zone? Ou des étrangers?

Leur cas est-il différent de celui de leurs compatriotes qui sont venus, ou dont les parents sont originaires d'Europe ou d'Asie pour s'établir au Canada? On est forcé d'admettre qu'en dehors du Québec, au sens strict de la loi, rien ne distingue les Canadiens français des autres Canadiens qui ne sont pas d'origine britannique. Mais la langue qu'ils parlent n'en est pas moins l'une des deux langues officielles du pays. Ils ont sans doute le droit de s'en servir, au moins dans les cas prévus par la Constitution, mais des lois provinciales les empêchent, sinon à titre onéreux, de l'apprendre en dehors du Québec. On assiste à cette anomalie que, dans un pays officiellement bilingue, ceux qui parlent une de ses langues officielles ne peuvent jouir pleinement de leurs droits de citoyens comme, par exemple, de parler en français à la Chambre des Communes ou au Sénat.

Par ailleurs, les Canadiens français du Québec, en allant s'établir ou

travailler dans une autre province, perdent par le fait même les droits et les privilèges dont ils jouissaient dans leur province natale puisqu'il ne leur est pas permis, toujours à moins qu'ils consentent de lourds sacrifices, de faire instruire leurs enfants en français et d'en faire des Canadiens bilingues. En principe, sinon en fait, ils ne peuvent se faire entendre en français devant les tribunaux de juridiction civile et même de juridiction criminelle qui, pourtant, sont de la compétence du gouvernement fédéral et devraient, de ce fait, être bilingues. Dans son propre pays, le Canadien français qui passe du Québec dans une autre province est comme un expatrié ou comme un exilé bien qu'il n'ait à accomplir aucune formalité d'immigration ou de douane. On ne s'étonnera pas qu'un si petit nombre de Québécois francophones consentent à aller vivre ou travailler un certain temps dans une autre province. Les postes qu'ils pourraient y occuper, soit dans la fonction publique, soit dans les grandes entreprises commerciales et industrielles qui ont des succursales dans tout le Canada, sont remplis par des anglophones dont ils paraissent être des fiefs indiscutables et inexpugnables. Le Québec prend ainsi de plus en plus l'allure d'une réserve dont, comme pour les premiers habitants du pays que sont les Indiens, on ne peut sortir sans perdre les droits et les avantages accordés par l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord.

La stricte interprétation de cette loi réduit à peu de chose en réalité, l'usage du français dans l'administration fédérale. On se souvient des luttes qu'il a fallu mener pour obtenir les timbres, la monnaie et les chèques bilingues. Chacune de ces mesures s'est heurtée à des oppositions sous prétexte qu'elles n'étaient pas prévues par la constitution. Il en fut de même lorsque les Canadiens français des provinces de l'Ouest voulurent avoir des postes de radio française. Dans l'administration proprement dite, l'anglais fut longtemps la seule langue que l'on dût employer. Il a fallu la menace du séparatisme québécois pour que l'on réagît contre cet exclusivisme.

La thèse du séparatisme recrutait dans la jeunesse, principalement chez les intellectuels, un nombre relativement petit de fidèles répartis en quelques groupes incapables de s'entendre. Survint un jour le cas d'un fonctionnaire fédéral qui avait soumis à ses supérieurs un rapport rédigé en français. L'obstination du fonctionnaire et la stupidité de ses supérieurs ont fait de cet incident une cause célèbre qui secoua le pays. Le séparatisme en reçut une nouvelle impulsion qui porta ses éléments les plus avancés à recourir à la violence. Si les actes de terrorisme furent un épisode que l'on peut considérer comme passager, les mouvements d'idée ont la vie plus tenace et, selon les circonstances, ils prennent des formes diverses. Au séparatisme s'ajoute ou se superpose maintenant la thèse qui prône l'unilinguisme français du Québec. La réaction des milieux canadiens de langue anglaise ne se fit pas attendre, aussi bien dans le Québec, où ils se sentaient directement menacés, que dans le reste du Canada où règne l'unilinguisme anglais. Pour peu que les attitudes se raidissent davantage de part et d'autre, le Canada pourrait être entraîné dans un conflit semblable à celui qui a divisé la Belgique.

L'unilinguisme d'un trop grand nombre d'anglophones, a conduit à des anomalies même dans le Québec. Il a donné naissance aux Two Solitudes. Sans doute, l'une de ces solitudes a-t-elle pu de cette façon assurer sa survivance et même son épanouissement comme groupe ethnique. Mais comme rien n'incite l'autre solitude, sinon son propre intérêt, à parler le français, la plupart des anglophones ne l'apprennent généralement que dans la mesure où elle leur sert à communiquer avec des subalternes ou à traiter avec la clientèle dans les entreprises de vente au détail. Pourquoi même faire cette dernière concession lorsqu'on a à portée de la main un ample réservoir de commis dont on attend qu'ils soient bilingues? Dans les bureaux, la langue de l'administration est l'anglais et les employés canadiens-français ne peuvent y travailler qu'à la

condition d'être bilingues tandis que les anglophones unilingues se voient réserver les emplois les mieux rémunérés et les chances d'avancement rapide. Ce tableau n'est pas poussé au sombre; on a vu de nombreux exemples de cet ostracisme qui ont fait les manchettes des journaux et qui ont donné lieu à des manifestations publiques dont l'opinion anglaise s'est inquiétée. Les responsables de cet état de choses ont protesté de leur pureté d'intention lorsqu'on a parlé de discrimination, disant que l'enseignement qu'ont reçu les Canadiens français ne les préparait pas au monde des affaires. Dans un autre domaine, on a vu et on voit encore de grandes entreprises industrielles refuser de signer avec leurs employés des conventions collectives rédigées en français.

La situation s'améliore, il est vrai, et le zèle qu'ont montré de nombreux anglophones pour apprendre le français peut reconforter les partisans du bilinguisme à condition que, selon l'adage, une fois le danger passé, on ne dise adieu au saint. Mais tous les anglophones du Québec seraient-ils bilingues que la situation dont se plaignent de plus en plus les Canadiens français n'en serait guère améliorée. L'affluence continue vers le Québec, et particulièrement vers Montréal, de techniciens, de spécialistes et d'employés supérieurs unilingues venant des autres provinces, des Etats-Unis et de l'Angleterre tend à perpétuer le malaise. Alors que l'unilinguisme des autres provinces rend difficile aux Canadiens français d'aller y acquérir une précieuse expérience, le bilinguisme du Québec procure aux anglophones unilingues des avantages lorsqu'ils viennent y gagner leur vie ou occuper les hauts postes que leur valent leur compétence et leurs années de service dans le commerce, l'industrie, la finance ou la fonction publique. Le cercle vicieux continue de tourner. Au Québec même, où ils croient pouvoir se sentir chez eux, les Canadiens de langue française deviennent de fait des étrangers dès qu'ils entrent au service d'entreprises dont la direction est anglaise ou américaine ou s'ils ont à l'emploi du gouvernement fédéral.

Si le français, dans ces conditions, continue d'être la langue que l'on parle en famille et dans une société qui fut longtemps repliée sur elle-même, la langue de travail et de communication, celle que l'on voit le plus souvent utilisée dans la publicité, est pour un très grand nombre l'anglais. C'est la langue qu'apprennent de préférence et que parlent les immigrants qui, venant s'établir à Montréal, grossissent le nombre des anglophones. Le bilinguisme n'est certes pas un mal, bien au contraire, et l'on doit admettre que la connaissance de l'anglais est utile à un nombre important de Canadiens français pour de multiples raisons. Mais s'ils sont bilingues par nécessité, ils se demandent s'ils doivent toujours faire seuls les frais du bilinguisme.

L'unilinguisme de la majorité des Canadiens anglophones suscite actuellement et provoque même le désir exprimé par plusieurs d'un unilinguisme français dans le Québec ou, du moins de faire du français la langue prioritaire de l'administration publique et, par voie de conséquences, de l'administration privée dans ses relations avec l'Etat, et avec la clientèle et les employés de l'entreprise privée.

Il faut, à cet égard, tenir compte de l'attitude de l'industrie, attitude qui est dictée par ses propres intérêts et qui doit considérer elle aussi le problème dans son envergure nationale. Toutes les grandes entreprises qui font affaires dans les dix provinces du Canada, même si elles sont des émanations dans notre pays de sociétés françaises, belges ou suisses, sont forcées par les circonstances d'utiliser l'anglais pour la conduite de leurs affaires. Dans quelle mesure peuvent-elles être bilingues? Le mémoire qu'a soumis la compagnie Domtar Ltd au Comité parlementaire sur la constitution, créé par l'Assemblée législative du Québec, nous renseigne à ce sujet.

Cette entreprise, l'une des plus grandes et des plus puissantes au Canada, a son siège social à Montréal et 40 p.c. de ses employés travaillent dans le Québec où elle a investi 45 p.c. de ses usines, de ses installations et de son

outillage. Domtar établit clairement ses positions. Elle revendique le droit de choisir la langue qui doit lui servir dans la conduite de ses affaires. Comme elle a des usines et des bureaux dans tout le pays, un nombre important de ses employés ne sont pas originaires du Québec. Afin d'assurer à tous un traitement équitable, la Compagnie dit clairement dans son mémoire:

"... we should be able to maintain mobility among the employees in our control centres through a climate which reflects the language characteristics of our company.

Relations between our control departments and our operating centres which we have throughout Canada and abroad must be maintained in one single language, and French Canada must take this essential factor into account in determining its objectives, otherwise it would not be possible to keep our head office in Montreal.

Without restricting the foregoing we feel, however, that industry must be prepared to establish gradually, and as rapidly as possible, the use of French as the working language in Quebec operations".

La Compagnie ajoute enfin qu'elle est opposée à tout ce qui restreindrait la liberté qu'ont les Canadiens français de s'exprimer en anglais avec leurs concitoyens de langue anglaise.

"... for the French-speaking Canadians'opportunities for promotion will depend to a large degree on their ability to do business in another language".

Cette attitude est ferme et l'on aurait tort de la considérer comme totalement irrecevable car elle pose carrément un problème qu'on ne saurait éluder. D'une part, elle est favorable, en partie du moins, au bilinguisme; elle laisse prévoir que, pour parvenir à l'usage du français dans les centres de production dont la majorité des employés sont de langue française, ceux qui y vien-

nent des provinces anglophones devront eux aussi parler le français et par conséquent, être bilingues. D'autre part, elle s'oppose à la possibilité d'un Québec unilingue et elle réclame le droit, dans ses bureaux, de se servir uniquement de l'anglais qui est la langue de son choix. Cette politique ne serait-elle pas celle de l'autruche qui s'enfonce la tête dans le sable afin de ne pas voir le danger qui la menace?

LE FAIT FRANCAIS AU CANADA

Depuis longtemps, d'aucuns s'étonnent que les Canadiens français, dans un continent dont ils constituent à peine trois pour cent de la population, persistent envers et contre tout à parler le français. Bien que la politique canadienne soit à cet égard moins brutale que celle du "melting pot" américain, l'issue finale, croit-on, est et doit être la même: au nord du Rio Grande, tout le monde doit fatalement parler l'anglais. Ce n'est qu'une question de temps car les minorités linguistiques sont nécessairement appelées à disparaître, absorbées par les langues majoritaires. D'ailleurs, prétend-on, le Canada est un pays britannique et les droits que l'on a garantis au français, si on peut expliquer cette tolérance pour des raisons historiques, finiront par tomber en désuétude. Le premier de ces arguments relève d'une mentalité qui s'apparente à celle qui a prévalu aux Etats-Unis. On l'entend surtout dans les provinces de l'Ouest. Il n'y a à cela rien de surprenant puisque le peuplement de ces territoires s'est fait de la même façon que les états de l'Ouest américain furent colonisés. Les Etats-Unis ne seraient pas une grande nation, relativement homogène, si chaque groupe national avait pu conserver sa langue et ses coutumes ancestrales. Il en serait de même au Canada, dit-on, si une seule langue n'unissait les descendants de tant de peuples parlant divers idiomes. Selon cette théorie, la qualité de Canadien ne doit s'affubler d'aucun autre qualificatif qu'on y joint par un trait d'union.

Bien que conscients de vivre dangereusement, les Canadiens de langue française sont loin de partager cet avis. Ils envisagent l'avenir d'une façon réaliste et ne s'inquiètent pas de n'être qu'un îlot linguistique et culturel en marge d'un continent où l'on ne parle, sauf au Mexique, aucune autre langue que l'anglais. D'où leur vient une telle assurance? Forts d'avoir résisté pendant deux siècles à toutes les tentatives qu'on a faites pour leur faire abandonner leur langue, ils ont non seulement maintenu leurs positions mais ils les ont amé-

liorées. Leur nombre est un des facteurs dont il est nécessaire de tenir compte. Ils seront bientôt six millions; ils habitent en majorité le Québec, l'est et le nord de l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick, faisant ainsi de l'est du Canada un bloc dont la solidité se manifeste de plus en plus. Admettons que le français n'est la langue parlée que de 28 pour cent des Canadiens d'origine française qui, par ailleurs, constituent 30 pour cent de la population du Canada. A la vérité, cela signifie que quelque 400,000 Canadiens d'origine française ne parlent plus la langue de leurs ancêtres. L'analyse des statistiques du recensement de 1961 montre que cette perte ne s'est produite que dans les provinces où l'enseignement du français est soumis à des conditions impossibles. En regard de cette perte, le Québec affiche un surplus car le nombre de ceux dont le français est la langue maternelle est supérieur d'environ 30,000 à celui des Québécois d'origine française. Combien d'Irlandais, d'Ecosseis, d'Italiens, comme on a l'habitude de les nommer en oubliant qu'ils sont des Canadiens, ne parlent que le français? Dans son château-fort du Québec, le français n'est pas une langue qui se meurt. Les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick, avec plus de difficulté et malgré l'émigration de plusieurs vers les provinces anglophones, sont aussi un exemple de résistance et de progrès.

On a souvent parlé de miracle à propos de la survivance du Canada français. D'autres peuples, dont la population était il est vrai plus nombreuse et depuis plus longtemps attachée au sol de la patrie, ont survécu et conservé leur langue lorsqu'ils furent conquis et gouvernés par une puissance étrangère. Les Polonais, les Ukrainiens, les Tchèques, les Hongrois en sont des exemples. Comme pour ces peuples, la persistance du français dans le Québec, en d'autres endroits du Canada et même dans les états de la Nouvelle-Angleterre n'est pas un épiphénomène difficilement explicable. Elle tient à ce que cette langue est fortement, sinon toujours indissolublement liée à la culture du peuple qui la parle. Il n'est pas toujours vrai que les langues minoritaires soient fatalement déplacées

par celle de la majorité. Les anthropologues, les sociologues et les linguistes peuvent apporter de nombreux exemples à l'encontre de ce qui peut paraître une loi inéluctable.

Le cas du flamand nous intéresse de plus près parce que le sort que l'on a fait en Belgique à l'une des deux langues officielles du pays présente de remarquables analogies avec la situation qui existe au Canada. Pays bilingue, la Belgique ne l'était que par la liberté dont jouissait tout citoyen de parler le français ou le flamand. Les Wallons, habitant la partie sud du pays, ne parlaient que le français, langue de l'administration tant civile que militaire. Dans la partie nord, la riche bourgeoisie ne parlait aussi que le français, laissant aux ouvriers et aux paysans le soin de conserver un dialecte issu du hollandais et leur imposant en même temps l'usage du français s'ils voulaient être compris par les fonctionnaires et par ceux qui les employaient. Un siècle de revendications ne parvint qu'à rendre l'usage du flamand obligatoire dans l'armée, dans les cours de justice criminelle, dans les administrations locales et dans l'enseignement primaire. Les Flamands ont profité de l'industrialisation du territoire, leur population a augmenté au point de dépasser celle de la Wallonie française, l'instruction a fait chez eux d'immenses progrès, ils ont une littérature, un théâtre, des sociétés culturelles et leur langue n'est plus un dialecte mais une langue que l'on appelle le néerlandais à cause des nombreuses ressemblances qu'elle a avec celle de la Hollande. Devant l'opposition opiniâtre des Wallons et de la bourgeoisie flamande à l'adoption du bilinguisme à l'échelle nationale, les Flamands ont finalement imposé l'unilinguisme territorial qui divise le pays en deux zones où la langue de l'enseignement, du travail, des communications et de l'administration est le néerlandais dans la partie septentrionale et le français dans la partie méridionale, Bruxelles étant enfin bilingue. Les plus durement touchés dans cette partition furent les riches bourgeois flamands qui ne peuvent plus faire instruire leurs enfants en français dans la

partie du pays qui est la terre où ils sont nés, et qui doivent parler le néerlandais s'ils veulent être compris de leurs employés.

Le raisonnement par analogie n'est pas toujours concluant. Il serait téméraire de croire que la crise qui sévit au Canada se dénouera de la même façon qu'en Belgique mais il convient de retenir que le flamand ne s'est pas contenté de survivre mais qu'il a fini par s'imposer. Retenons aussi que, dans les Flandres, ceux qui se sont constamment opposés au bilinguisme sont maintenant privés des avantages et même des droits dont ils auraient pu continuer à jouir s'il avait été étendu à tout le pays comme le demandaient les Flamands.

La persistance du français dans le Québec et ailleurs au Canada est un fait dont il faut tenir compte et les Canadiens français, qui se sont longtemps accrochés à un espoir de survivance, sont convaincus d'être un peuple avec qui il faut compter. La langue qu'ils parlent est une des composantes de ce fait et ils savent qu'en la parlant, ils participent à la civilisation française qui, pendant des siècles, a dominé l'Europe aussi bien dans l'ordre intellectuel que dans les affaires politiques. Autant que les Français eux-mêmes, ils sont les légitimes propriétaires de tout ce qui, dans les lettres, les arts, les sciences, la philosophie, a fait la grandeur de cette civilisation. Leur fierté à l'égard de ce patrimoine est à l'égal de celle des Français dont on sait qu'elle est grande. La langue qu'ils parlent est un des cinq ou six idiomes qui sont le plus parlés dans le monde. Sa rivale en Amérique du Nord est l'anglais qui est elle aussi une langue de grande civilisation. Bien avant la conquête du Canada ces deux langues se sont affrontées en Europe et se sont même disputé la possession de l'Angleterre et de la France dont l'histoire est en grande partie faite des guerres que se sont livrées ces deux pays pendant des siècles. De même que les langues parlées dans l'un et dans l'autre de ces pays ont survécu à ces guerres, elles demeurent toujours en face l'une de l'autre dans le Québec et ailleurs au Canada. S'il est vrai que bon sang ne peut mentir, il en sera encore longtemps de même.

Les mécanismes de défense qui ont permis au Canada français de survivre ne lui assureraient aujourd'hui qu'une existence marginale s'ils n'avaient aussi facilité son adaptation aux conditions qui règnent dans le monde contemporain. De nouvelles institutions sont nées, ont grandi et sont devenues agressives; les vieilles institutions se sont mises à l'heure de l'automatisation et de la planification.

La révolution industrielle, dont notre pays sentit les premiers effets vers le début du siècle actuel, fut et est encore un phénomène crucial dans la vie du Canada français. Rien ne l'avait préparé à en subir les assauts et les conséquences. On l'avait au contraire préparé à une vocation agricole et son élite devait maintenir dans une Amérique de plus en plus matérialiste, le flambeau des arts, des lettres et de la philosophie. Anglaise ou américaine, la grande industrie trouva dans le Québec d'abondantes sources de matière première et d'énergie hydraulique ainsi qu'une main d'oeuvre docile et peu coûteuse. Avec les capitaux dont elle disposait, elle domina bientôt la vie économique et elle crut pouvoir transformer le régime social d'un peuple auquel ses opérations apportaient une prospérité imprévue. Le monde des travailleurs fut le premier touché et il réagit. L'histoire des Syndicats nationaux est un exemple de la prise de conscience du Canada français qui manifeste aussi sa force dans les autres syndicats dont ils sont leurs concurrents. Les Caisses populaires Desjardins furent une innovation dans l'économie américaine; elles sont maintenant une puissance dont les millions qu'elles possèdent commencent à faire sentir le poids.

Le monde de l'enseignement réagit à son tour en transformant le système d'éducation qui avait assuré la survivance. Le fait le plus important dans ce domaine est l'essor qu'a pris depuis 1920 l'enseignement supérieur dans le Québec et, plus récemment, dans l'Ontario et le Nouveau-Brunswick. L'Université Laval était alors, avec une succursale à Montréal, la seule institution qui pouvait préparer les jeunes Canadiens français à l'exercice des professions libé-

rales. Il existe maintenant deux autres universités de langue française dans le Québec, une dans le Nouveau-Brunswick et deux universités bilingues dans l'Ontario. Celles du Québec ont cessé depuis longtemps de n'être que des écoles professionnelles. Le champ de leur enseignement et de leurs recherches s'étend à tous les domaines du savoir. L'exemple le plus frappant de l'extraordinaire expansion de l'enseignement universitaire et de la nouvelle orientation de la jeunesse québécoise est la répartition actuelle des étudiants dans les diverses facultés et écoles de l'Université de Montréal. Les facultés de sciences, des sciences sociales, des lettres et de philosophie, l'Ecole polytechnique et l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales comptent respectivement cette année, 1,593, 1,308, 1,364, 704, 1,469 et 925 étudiants tandis que le nombre des étudiants inscrits cette année dans les quatre facultés qui préparent aux professions traditionnelles du droit, de la médecine, de la chirurgie dentaire et de la pharmacie ne s'élève qu'à 1,675.

L'enseignement supérieur des universités de langue française ne le cède en rien à celui des universités du Canada anglais et, dans plusieurs domaines, il est à l'avant-garde. Ces institutions sont réputées dans le monde entier; celle de Montréal est à l'origine de la fondation d'une Association des Universités entièrement ou partiellement de langue française qui groupe plus de quarante institutions d'enseignement supérieur d'Europe, d'Amérique, d'Afrique et d'Asie. Les récents accords intervenus entre la France et le Québec au sujet de l'échange de professeurs et d'étudiants montrent en quelle haute estime les universités de France tiennent nos institutions de haut savoir, leur personnel enseignant et leurs chercheurs.

La majorité des étudiants inscrits aux trois universités de langue française du Québec se destinent aux carrières de l'industrie, du commerce, de l'administration, de l'enseignement et de la recherche. Cette nouvelle orientation est due à l'influence qu'ont exercée les universités sur l'enseignement secondaire qui, ayant déjà commencé à se démocratiser, s'apprête à l'être davantage

et à donner aux carrières de la technique et de la technologie l'importance que réclame un monde dominé par la science et les techniques. Malgré l'influence qu'exerce nécessairement dans ce domaine le voisinage des Etats-Unis, le souci est plus fort que jamais de donner à tous ces enseignements une allure française qui en fait l'originalité. La jeunesse qui fréquente les institutions d'enseignement secondaire, technique et universitaire entend bien qu'après avoir été la langue qui a servi à leur instruction, le français sera celle qu'ils parleront dans l'exercice de leur profession. Le nombre constamment croissant, et qui grandit plus vite dans le Québec que dans le reste du Canada, d'étudiants universitaires donnera au Canada français les recrues dont il a besoin pour l'établissement d'industries secondaires et pour faire jouer son influence dans l'économie et la politique sociale du pays.

Dans son économie et dans l'aménagement de leurs politiques sociales, le Canada, la finance et l'industrie canadiennes s'alignent traditionnellement sur les modèles importés d'Angleterre et des Etats-Unis. Les initiatives qui prennent actuellement naissance dans le Québec s'inspirent volontiers de ce qui se fait en France en en Belgique où la grande industrie connaît un renouveau spectaculaire et où les lois sociales ont depuis longtemps fait la preuve de leur efficacité. Dans des domaines dont plusieurs se plaignent qu'on y manque d'imagination, le Canada français fait figure de pionnier et occupe des positions d'avant-garde. Certains, au Canada, craignent ces audaces et redoutent l'emprise que le Québec, si elles réussissent, pourrait avoir sur l'ensemble de l'économie canadienne. Conscient de travailler à la prospérité du pays tout autant qu'à la sienne, le Canada français trouve dans cette nouvelle orientation des motifs et des raisons d'affirmer sa personnalité. Il ne néglige pas pour autant les méthodes qui ont fait le succès des entreprises américaines et canadiennes et qui sont de nature à affermir son économie et à élever le niveau social de sa population.

L'avènement de la radio et de la télévision aurait pu être la pier-

re d'achoppement de la langue et de la culture françaises au Canada. Ces nouveaux moyens de communication, d'enseignement et de divertissement se sont au contraire révélés les instruments peut-être les plus puissants de leur progrès. Les Canadiens de langue française y ont trouvé des formes d'expression qui leur firent découvrir l'originalité de leur culture, le talent de leurs artistes, la science de leurs maîtres et par dessus tout, le sens de la solidarité qui, de Moncton à Edmonton, les fait communier à une même pensée, à un même idéal. Dans une large mesure, le renouveau culturel et littéraire dont le Québec donne le spectacle depuis quelques années, ainsi que la révolution politique, sociale et économique dont il fut récemment le théâtre résultent des efforts que l'on a faits pour concurrencer en quantité comme en qualité, la programmation des postes américains de radio et de télévision. A cet égard, le Canada français est plus autonome que le reste du Canada et il le doit au fait qu'il lui faut produire tout ce qu'il consomme. Le même phénomène se produit dans le monde du théâtre qui, principalement à Montréal, est d'une qualité qui se compare souvent avec avantage à ce que l'on peut voir dans les grandes capitales du monde.

Autant et sinon plus par ses réalisations que par ses revendications, le Canada français s'affirme de plus en plus comme une entité avec laquelle il faut compter. Dans le domaine économique, le marché canadien français est assez important pour que de nombreux fabricants de biens de consommation et d'aliments d'usage courant aient jugé qu'il était de leur intérêt de les présenter dans des emballages bilingues dont la distribution s'étend à tout le Canada. La vente de ces produits n'a sans doute pas diminué dans les régions du pays qui s'opposent au bilinguisme... Par ailleurs, afin de s'assurer et de conserver la clientèle canadienne-française, ces entreprises commerciales s'adressèrent à elle en français dans les journaux et dans les revues, à la radio et à la télévision de langue française, contribuant ainsi à assurer la diffusion des idées dont ils sont les véhicules. Mieux encore, en commanditant des émissions dont les auteurs

sont de langue française, ils participent au rayonnement de la culture canadienne d'expression française. On n'a pas été peu surpris de voir, il y a quelques années, les éditeurs torontois des plus importants périodiques canadiens en lancer un de langue française dans lequel s'expriment avec la plus grande liberté des auteurs dont on ne saurait douter de leur attachement aux aspirations du Canada français et dont ils se font les porte-paroles.

Si le gouvernement fédéral s'est fait longtemps prier avant de consentir à émettre des timbres, de la monnaie et des chèques bilingues, il n'a suscité que peu de protestations lorsqu'il a donné un caractère bilingue à la Société Radio-Canada, à l'Office national du film et au Conseil des arts. Il a aussi reconnu, dans le cadre de son programme d'aide aux pays en voie de développement, de faire une part dont l'importance devient de plus en plus considérable aux pays francophones de l'Asie et de l'Afrique et de mettre à la disposition des pays européens de langue française des bourses de même nature que celles qu'il offre aux pays, tous anglophones sauf un, du Commonwealth.

Cette analyse de la situation actuelle nous conduit à conclure que le fait français au Canada est une réalité qui s'affirme avec vigueur. Serait-il cependant vrai de dire que, toute proportion gardée, il en était de même en 1867 et que, cent ans plus tard, il en est encore et toujours à faire entendre les mêmes revendications et à se heurter aux mêmes résistances? A la première partie de cette question, il est vrai de répondre que l'on peut comparer avantageusement la situation actuelle du Canada français, dans le Québec tout au moins, à celle qui lui était faite au moment où se fit la Confédération. Tant du point de vue intellectuel que du point de vue social et économique, les Canadiens de langue française ont amélioré leur situation au point que l'on peut dire qu'à bien des égards, ils vivent d'une vie autonome et qu'à ce titre, ils veulent être considérés comme des associés à part entière dans la Confédération canadienne. Cela veut dire que l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique ne correspond plus aux be-

soins de l'heure, conclusion à laquelle en arrivent aussi, pour d'autres raisons, les politicologues. A la seconde partie de la question que nous nous sommes posée, il est vrai de répondre que les revendications du Canada français portent aujourd'hui sur des points plus précis qu'autrefois, puisque l'usage a permis de les mieux définir, et plus fondamentaux parce qu'ils ne concernent plus uniquement la reconnaissance du français dans le Québec mais dans les autres provinces et dans tout ce qui ressortit à l'administration fédérale.

Quant à l'accueil que l'on fait à ces revendications, il y a toute une gamme qui va de la compréhension à une opposition le plus souvent aveugle. Les témoignages nombreux de sympathie agissante de la part de personnalités importantes du Canada anglophone encouragent le Canada francophone à persister dans ses efforts de renouvellement car ils voient dans un Québec fort une condition essentielle de la force même du Canada. Plusieurs vont jusqu'à affirmer que l'avenir du pays dépend de la solution que l'on apportera au problème que pose l'existence d'un Canada français conscient de sa force et résolument actif dans un Canada toujours divers mais désormais uni. Une opposition foncière peut venir de quelques groupes isolés dans l'est et dans le centre du pays mais elle se cristallise dans les provinces de l'ouest. Elle se manifeste singulièrement dans le refus du bilinguisme et de l'enseignement du français dans les écoles publiques mais elle plonge plus profondément ses racines dans des convictions politiques et culturelles de même que dans une conception différente de l'ordre social et économique. Dans l'ordre politique, il est clair que le Canada occidental est nettement opposé au Canada central dont le Québec fait partie et celui-ci est d'autant plus incompris qu'il apparaît comme un corps étranger dans un tout que l'on désirerait homogène. Le mode de vie des populations agraires des plaines de l'Ouest n'est pas en harmonie avec celui des provinces centrales industrialisées et urbanisées. Il en est de même des intérêts économiques des habitants des prairies et de ceux du Canada central. Il y a enfin que la "révolution tranquille" du Québec est

aux yeux de nos compatriotes de la Saskatchewan, de l'Alberta et jusqu'à un certain point de la Colombie britannique, une tentative de renverser l'ordre établi. Les esprits ne sont pas préparés à accepter les moyens, qui leur semblent radicaux, que l'on met en oeuvre afin d'utiliser au mieux les richesses naturelles et le capital humain du Québec. Peut-être se souviennent-ils de ce qui s'est passé en Afrique du Sud et qui a conduit ce pays à s'émanciper du Commonwealth. On ne se rend pas compte que si le Québec n'avait pas pris les mesures qui s'imposent d'améliorer sa situation économique, le Canada français aurait pu rapidement devenir un problème plus grave encore.

LE BICULTURALISME

On ne se fait pas une idée aussi claire du biculturalisme que du bilinguisme. Une première ambiguïté naît des sens différents que l'on donne, aussi bien en français qu'en anglais, du mot culture. Dans une acception dérivée de son sens premier, ce terme signifie une occupation de l'esprit et le résultat de cette occupation. Il existe aussi, quant au nouveau sens qu'on lui donne, une querelle sémantique. Traditionnellement, le français désignait par le terme civilisation ce que les anthropologues français appellent maintenant culture, à la suite de leurs collègues allemands et américains. On parle ainsi de la culture d'une société, qui est l'ensemble des habitudes acquises, transmises par l'éducation et pratiquées par les membres de cette société.

A cet égard, le Canada compte plusieurs cultures. Il y a d'abord celles des aborigènes, Indiens, qui diffèrent d'une région à l'autre du pays, et celle des Esquimaux. Lorsque les Français, les Anglais, les Ecossais et les Irlandais vinrent en Amérique, ils y apportèrent leurs cultures nationales ou régionales qui se sont adaptées à leur nouvel environnement. Il y a sans doute un dénominateur commun à ces diverses cultures transplantées dans un sol qui les a toutes marquées. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'en Nouvelle-Ecosse, on conserve plus précieusement qu'ailleurs les coutumes, les habitudes, les moeurs et le folklore des Highlands du pays ancestral dont plusieurs continuent de parler la langue. Où qu'ils soient dans le Nouveau Monde, les Irlandais conservent aussi les traditions familiales et sociales de leur pays d'origine. Les Anglais, de leur côté, n'ont pas abandonné les caractères culturels qui les distinguent des autres britanniques. Les descendants des United Empire Loyalists se différencient peut-être plus nettement que les autres à cause de leur plus profond enracinement en Amérique. Tous ces groupes celtes et anglo-saxons sont unis par l'usage d'une langue commune, l'anglais, qui est celle de l'Amérique au nord du Rio Grande, mais les diverses confessions religieuses auxquelles ils adhèrent contribuent à les individualiser.

Les Canadiens de langue française ont eux aussi des traditions qui leur sont propres et qui, originaires de plusieurs provinces françaises, ont été remarquablement unifiées sous la double influence de la vie en commun et de l'environnement. Les linguistes disent même que la langue française s'est unifiée plus tôt au Canada qu'en France même où elle ne le fut que sous la Révolution. La communauté de langue, de coutumes, de folklore, de mode de vie fut une des causes de la survivance d'un groupe dont on aurait pu douter qu'il pourrait conserver son identité. Les luttes, le plus souvent passives, qu'il a dû livrer pour maintenir cette identité n'ont fait qu'accentuer les caractères qui le distinguent. La voix du sang est chez eux d'autant plus forte que les quelque six millions qu'ils sont actuellement descendent d'environ treize mille colons dont les sangs se sont mêlés. Chacun a conscience d'appartenir à un groupe dont on disait naguère qu'il était une race. L'abus que l'on a fait de ce terme l'a fait tomber en désuétude mais une réalité demeure que l'on désigne maintenant par le mot nation. Les sociologues confirment la validité de ce terme et affirment l'existence d'une culture qui est propre à cette nation et dont la langue est le français.

L'usage du mot nation suscite chez les autres Canadiens un sentiment qui a souvent la violence d'une réaction car la plupart croient avoir participé à la fondation d'une nation canadienne. D'aucuns disent qu'il n'existe pas au Canada une nation anglaise qui ferait pendant à la nation de leurs compatriotes de langue française. Querelle de mots, peut-être, que l'on pourrait régler en s'entendant sur la signification du terme ethnie. Niera-t-on cependant qu'en Grande Bretagne il existe une nation écossaise et un nationalisme écossais? Il est vrai que, dans l'ensemble, cette nation parle l'anglais mais, en revanche, elle a marqué la culture anglaise en lui imposant sa boisson nationale, le curling et le golf, ainsi qu'en donnant à la littérature anglaise quelques-uns de ses écrivains les plus célèbres.

Si le fait français s'affirme au Canada, c'est par sa culture dont le français est le mode d'expression. La culture canadienne d'expression fran-

çaise s'enracine dans un passé qui remonte à plus de trois siècles et demi. Elle se manifestait déjà dès le temps où le Canada était encore une colonie française, car les habitants du pays s'appelaient Canadiens pour se distinguer des Français qui ne faisaient que passer. En acceptant ce passé, tous les Canadiens ajoutent à l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord britannique plus de deux siècles qui lui donnent son cachet d'originalité. Sans cette culture qui a évolué en se perpétuant, le Canada ne serait pas ce qu'il est car tous les régimes sous lesquels il a vécu depuis 1760 ont dû tenir compte, dans un pays britannique dont le monarque est le chef de la religion d'état, de l'existence de Canadiens qui parlent le français, qui pratiquent la religion catholique et qui, dans le cours de leur vie, ne sont pas soumis à la "common law" mais à un code civil qui s'apparente au "code Napoléon".

La culture canadienne d'expression française s'est donné ses propres institutions qui rendent possible son expansion et son épanouissement.

Parmi ces institutions, les plus importantes sont sans doute les universités. Bien que leurs structures ne les distinguent guère des institutions de même nature qui existent au Canada et aux Etats-Unis, l'esprit qui les anime est différent car elles appuient leur enseignement sur les traditions qu'elles ont puisées dans l'histoire des universités françaises. Leur influence est devenue prépondérante dans le monde de l'enseignement et elles sont à l'origine du renouveau dont on est témoin aussi bien dans l'ordre économique et social que dans le monde intellectuel et artistique.

On peut se demander ce qui distinguerait le Canada des Etats-Unis s'il n'y avait une radio et une télévision qui s'expriment en français, qui créent des émissions originales et qui parlent ainsi d'autre chose que de ce qui est le pain quotidien de nos voisins du sud et du plus grand nombre de nos compatriotes anglophones. L'opinion publique des Canadiens français conditionne à bien des égards la politique extérieure du Canada et, en face du tiers-monde qui comprend, en Afrique et en Asie du sud-est, des nations francophones ou marquées

par la civilisation française, le caractère biculturel de notre pays est un atout précieux.

Nous en arrivons ainsi à mieux définir ce qu'est le biculturalisme. Le Canada est un pays britannique et, comme tel, il aurait pu évoluer et se développer de la même façon que les Etats-Unis. Cela veut dire que le principe d'unité du pays aurait été l'agrégation des immigrants à un groupe fondateur d'origine anglaise. L'apport culturel de ces immigrants est un enrichissement qui, au Canada comme aux Etats-Unis, a été précieux mais la politique du melting pot tend à unifier, en leur faisant parler la même langue, tous ceux qui sont fiers de se proclamer citoyens des Etats-Unis. Malgré la diversité d'origine des groupes britanniques dont la présence au Canada remonte à un ou deux siècles, ils forment le noyau autour duquel se cristallise une pensée canadienne à laquelle participent les immigrants venus de divers pays. Comme s'ils étaient venus aux Etats-Unis, ils acceptent qu'éventuellement ils se fondront dans la masse d'un peuple uni et dont la langue ne peut être que celle de la majorité. En dépit des différences régionales, et quoi qu'en disent des intellectuels exigeants qui doutent de son existence, la culture canadienne d'expression anglaise est une réalité dont la puissance assimilatrice est indubitable.

Le Canada possède donc deux cultures dont l'expérience de deux siècles a montré qu'elles sont irréductibles l'une à l'autre bien que toutes deux aient en principe le même idéal, soit le bien et la grandeur du pays. Leur coexistence est un fait établi et leur coopération a déjà montré qu'elle est efficace lorsque les intérêts supérieurs du pays commandent qu'elles travaillent en commun. Il faut dire cependant que dans la pratique celle de la minorité n'a pas toujours joui d'un traitement correspondant à son importance parce que le bilinguisme, qui est un de ses aspects, n'a droit de cité que dans la mesure où l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord établit ses droits. Les deux questions du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme sont étroitement liées et, par voie de conséquence, on arrive à la

conclusion que la liberté de l'enseignement du français en dehors du Québec est un des éléments de la solution équitable du problème que pose la reconnaissance du biculturalisme canadien.

Il ne suffit pas d'affirmer que le Canada est un pays biculturel. L'intention doit se traduire dans les faits et, peut-être même sans qu'il soit besoin d'en faire des textes de loi quoique la rigueur de ceux-ci constituent une sauvegarde précieuse pour l'avenir. Avant de définir en quoi consiste le biculturalisme, il n'est pas superflu de faire un appel à la prudence. Tant que les tensions qui existent actuellement ne se seront pas relâchées, on ne saurait songer à légiférer en cette matière délicate. On risque d'une part de soulever des passions dont les excès sont toujours à craindre ou, d'autre part, à négocier des ententes qui, au lieu de se fonder sur la compréhension et l'harmonie désirables, refléteront les craintes et les sentiments d'insécurité qui divisent les esprits. Mieux vaut sans doute à l'heure actuelle procéder selon une méthode qui s'apparente à celle des sciences expérimentales, et faire graduellement et systématiquement l'essai de formules dont le succès relatif conduira à des réalisations qui donneront satisfaction. Cela doit nécessairement s'accomplir en même temps que l'on instaurera une politique d'éducation en vue d'éliminer les préjugés, de faire disparaître l'ignorance, de provoquer la curiosité et l'intérêt de la population qui répugne encore à envisager la nécessité pourtant évidente du biculturalisme canadien.

Le biculturalisme est un régime qui, reconnaissant dans un pays l'existence de deux grandes cultures, repose sur des principes et sur des lois permettant aux représentants de ces cultures de vivre et de grandir ensemble afin que chacune s'épanouisse, de se mieux connaître afin qu'ils se rapprochent en respectant les droits, les idées et les aspirations de chacun des deux groupes, et de s'entendre harmonieusement sur ce qu'ils ne peuvent manquer d'avoir en commun, c'est-à-dire le bien, la grandeur et la prospérité du pays. Si le biculturalisme

ne peut être le fait des individus, il doit l'être des institutions tant privées que publiques car elles doivent refléter dans leur organisation et projeter à l'extérieur le caractère biculturel du pays auquel elles appartiennent.

Une telle conception du biculturalisme ne saurait nuire en rien aux intérêts des Canadiens qui ne sont pas d'origine britannique ou française. S'ils apportent, comme c'est souvent le cas, une contribution à la culture canadienne, ce n'est pas en tant qu'Ukrainiens, Polonais, Italiens ou Allemands que l'on pourrait croire exilés au Canada, mais en tant que Canadiens qui ont choisi de s'exprimer dans l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles de leur pays d'adoption.

Les Indiens et les Esquimaux, premiers habitants du pays, méritent que l'on ait envers eux une attitude plus compréhensive mais le sort de leur culture est celui de toutes les cultures primitives, c'est-à-dire d'évoluer. Plusieurs ne s'apitoient sur leur sort qu'en songeant à la disparition de leurs coutumes pittoresques. Il appartient à ces aborigènes, croyons-nous, de mener le genre de vie qui convient le mieux à la réussite des individus de leur sang et à l'évolution normale des groupes qu'ils composent. Ils ne sont ni des objets de musée d'anthropologie ni des citoyens de seconde classe et leur patrimoine est une des composantes de la culture canadienne dont on a dit, à cause de la diversité des coutumes régionales, qu'elle est une mosaïque. C'est un fait que l'on ne peut nier, non plus d'ailleurs que celui de l'existence des deux langues dans lesquelles s'exprime la culture canadienne. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faut finalement entendre le biculturalisme puisque c'est le seul qui corresponde à la réalité.

UN CANADA BILINGUE ET BICULTUREL

Le Canada français étant ce qu'il est et affirmant sa détermination d'évoluer comme tel, le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme sont les éléments essentiels de l'existence d'un Canada uni. Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme sont des objectifs réalisables si tous ceux qui le veulent se mettent résolument à la tâche et prennent les moyens de parvenir à cette fin. Selon les lieux et les circonstances, il faudra stimuler la bonne volonté des uns, vaincre les résistances et les préjugés des autres, mettre à la disposition de tous des maîtres compétents et des méthodes éprouvées et, dans tous les cas, fonder ses efforts sur l'intérêt qui est le mobile de tous les actes humains. L'effort sera long et soutenu si on veut travailler en profondeur et que les résultats soient durables.

Dans l'état actuel des choses, des réformes s'imposent dans les institutions car leur structure présente en empêche plusieurs de jouer le rôle qui leur revient dans un pays bilingue et biculturel. S'il est des esprits préparés à comprendre l'utilité et l'urgence de procéder aux réformes nécessaires, il en est d'autres, et sans doute plus nombreux, qui s'y refusent ou pour qui elles sont indifférentes. De là la nécessité, d'une part, de profiter de la bonne volonté des uns afin de procéder immédiatement aux tâches les plus urgentes et, d'autre part, de projeter à plus ou moins longue échéance la réalisation des autres qui ne deviendront possible que lorsque la réforme se sera faite dans les esprits.

Il appartient d'abord au gouvernement fédéral et aux institutions qui en dépendent d'accélérer, et d'intensifier les initiatives qu'ils ont prises en vue de généraliser le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique et dans les moyens de faire connaître et apprécier le caractère biculturel du Canada.

Parmi les réformes qui s'imposent, il y a d'abord celle qui assurerait des avantages aux fonctionnaires bilingues. Ils ont en effet, en plus des qualités requises pour remplir les fonctions qui leur sont confiées, celle de posséder la connaissance d'une langue additionnelle dont l'usage, s'il

n'est pas toujours obligatoire, est de nature à rendre leur travail plus efficace. A la longue, on pourra ainsi parvenir à ce que le français, comme l'anglais, soit une des langues de travail des fonctionnaires postés à Ottawa et dans les milieux de langue française. On évitera de la sorte la lourdeur et la lenteur des travaux de traduction qui sont présentement de règle dans l'administration et dans les services.

Le gouvernement fédéral, ou le Parlement à qui certains d'entre eux sont responsables de leur activité, devrait mettre à la disposition des services culturels de l'Etat, tels que la Bibliothèque nationale, le Musée national, la Galerie nationale, la Société Radio-Canada, le Conseil des arts, l'Office national du film, les moyens nécessaires à l'accomplissement de la tâche essentielle qui est la leur, de refléter le caractère biculturel du pays, de favoriser les échanges culturels et de créer un climat favorable à la généralisation du bilinguisme.

La politique du gouvernement fédéral en matière de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme requiert un effort soutenu qu'un organisme permanent serait chargé d'entretenir. Le travail de la présente Commission royale ne peut demeurer sans lendemain; aussi conviendrait-il que, cessant d'enquêter, elle devienne un des services culturels de l'Etat fédéral. Son rôle serait à la fois de mettre en oeuvre les moyens requis pour la généralisation du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans la fonction publique et de stimuler l'activité créatrice de la Société Radio Canada et de l'Office national du film dans le domaine du biculturalisme.

Comme les projets que l'on devra mettre en oeuvre en vue de l'établissement d'un bilinguisme et d'un biculturalisme efficaces reposent sur des études bien documentées et soigneusement étudiées des conditions sociales, psychologiques et culturelles qui règnent dans les diverses régions du pays à un moment donné, la Commission devenue permanente pourrait avoir pour tâche, entre autres, de promouvoir la recherche dans ces domaines. On devrait aussi lui confier l'organisation, de concert avec les offices provinciaux compétents, d'é-

changes de professeurs et d'étudiants et de rencontres semblables à celles qu'organise la Commission canadienne nationale pour l'UNESCO.

Les gouvernements provinciaux ont une grande responsabilité en la matière puisque c'est d'eux qu'il dépend que les deux langues officielles du pays soient ou ne soient pas enseignées dans les écoles publiques. Il leur appartient donc de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour que les intérêts et les désirs des minorités francophones dans leur juridiction soient respectés et sauvegardés. Il appartient aussi aux départements de l'éducation dans ces provinces que l'enseignement du français aux jeunes anglophones soit fait de telle sorte qu'il soit efficace et profitable. La réalisation de ces vœux est peut-être difficile parce que les gouvernements sont le reflet du peuple qui les élit. Si ce peuple est hostile ou indifférent à la mise en oeuvre des moyens nécessaires à la réalisation de ces vœux, ils ne peuvent guère agir sans que l'électorat leur fasse connaître sa désapprobation.

Les institutions d'enseignement supérieur ont ici un rôle primordial à jouer. La participation des universités canadiennes à l'instauration du bilinguisme est un aspect qu'elles ne peuvent déclinier de leur mission culturelle. De plus en plus elles se veulent une vocation nationale parce que leurs diplômés exercent leur activité professionnelle et leur influence dans toutes les parties du pays et principalement dans sa capitale. D'une façon générale elles n'ont pas encore traduit dans les faits les vœux que dans l'enthousiasme des congrès, leurs présidents, leurs doyens et un grand nombre de leurs professeurs ont exprimés avec éloquence en faveur du bilinguisme. S'il existe de remarquables exemples de collaboration entre les universités de langue française et de langue anglaise, les initiatives les plus méritoires n'atteignent qu'un petit nombre de professeurs et d'étudiants de recherche; elles n'atteignent pas la masse des étudiants.

On est cependant redevable aux universités d'avoir créé un climat de compréhension et d'estime réciproque dans les sphères de l'enseignement supérieur. Il importe maintenant que les universités fassent partager par leurs étudiants un état d'esprit qui doit se répandre dans le pays tout entier. C'est parmi leurs diplômés que se recrutent les instituteurs et les professeurs de l'enseignement secondaires qui forment la jeunesse, les fonctionnaires des administrations municipales, provinciales et fédérales, les journalistes qui renseignent et informent le public, les dirigeants des syndicats ouvriers et professionnels ainsi que les hommes politiques. Tous ne seront peut-être pas appelés à occuper des fonctions exigeant qu'ils soient bilingues mais la connaissance qu'ils auront acquise d'une seconde langue et de la culture de leurs compatriotes qui la parlent auront des conséquences heureuses pour le pays. C'est ainsi que l'opinion éclairée des universitaires fera son chemin, pénétrera dans l'esprit du peuple et influencera les législateurs.

Pour sa part, l'Université de Montréal entend d'abord continuer d'être un des grands foyers de culture du Canada français. Elle sert ainsi les intérêts de ceux qui lui ont confié la mission d'instruire la jeunesse et de faire progresser la connaissance. Le rayonnement de son enseignement et la réputation de ses maîtres et de ses chercheurs devraient attirer vers elles des étudiants canadiens anglophones qui apprendront à mieux connaître le Canada français en même temps qu'ils poursuivront leurs études et les travaux de recherche. Le milieu bilingue de Montréal et le caractère français de l'Université constituent un champ exceptionnel d'observation et d'expérimentation, pour quiconque désire connaître et comprendre un des aspects majeurs de la réalité canadienne. C'est dans cette ambiance privilégiée que devraient principalement se former les futurs professeurs de langue et de littérature françaises, de linguistique, d'histoire du Canada qui enseigneront dans les provinces en majorité anglophones. On réalisera de cette façon les conditions, dont la première est le contact entre les in-

dividus, dans lesquelles peut s'établir un dialogue dont l'absence à l'heure actuelle est un des maux dont souffre notre pays. La confrontation des idées, les échanges de vue, les expériences vécues en commun sont incomparablement plus utiles que toutes les études que l'on peut faire dans les livres ou en consultant des documents qui ne sont toujours que la pâle et infidèle image de la réalité.

S'il convient de penser que l'école est le lieu tout désigné pour apprendre quelque chose, on doit aussi convenir que l'atmosphère familiale contribue fortement à la motivation de l'enfant qui la fréquente. De là la nécessité d'agir aussi, et de façon efficace, sur les parents, ce qui nous conduit à penser qu'il faudra mobiliser à cette fin les moyens de communication de masse et leur fournir les outils dont ils auront besoin pour intéresser leurs lecteurs, leurs auditeurs et leurs spectateurs à l'étude d'une langue dont un bon nombre, sinon la plupart, croient qu'elle n'a aucune utilité immédiate et souvent même lointaine. Les espoirs que l'on est en droit de fonder sur le rôle de l'école sont peut-être à longue échéance mais il faudra qu'un jour elle soit à la base d'un bilinguisme efficace et aussi généralisé que possible.

Il faut dès maintenant donner plus d'importance à l'enseignement du français au cours secondaire en le faisant dispenser par des spécialistes qui le rendront intéressant et pratique. Une première mesure qui s'impose est de ne plus le désigner comme "a foreign language". On doit donner le coup de grâce, si elle existe encore, à la légende du patois que parlent les Canadiens français. Il est vrai que ces derniers ont eux-mêmes ajouté à la légende en insistant sur ce qu'on appelle le "joual" qui est au français correct parlé par les gens instruits, ce qu'est le "slang" à l'anglais d'Angleterre et des Etats-Unis. La meilleure façon de faire disparaître cette légende est de confier l'enseignement du français dans les écoles à des professeurs canadiens d'expression française qui auront obtenu dans les universités du Québec des certificats de spécialistes. Le Québec devra aussi fournir un matériel audio-visuel adapté aux besoins du Canada de langue anglaise et qui, en même temps qu'il contribuera à faire apprendre la langue,

fera connaître la vie du Canada français telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui et non pas comme on l'imagine en lisant les poèmes du Docteur Brummond ou Maria Chapdelaine.

A moins qu'il se destine à devenir un spécialiste, l'étudiant qui a appris un peu de français au high school n'en continue pas l'étude lorsqu'il entreprend des études universitaires. C'est ainsi qu'au Canada, les gens les mieux instruits ne connaissent pas l'une des deux langues officielles de leur pays. Pourquoi s'étonner alors que, sauf de rares exceptions, les échelons supérieurs de la fonction publique et de l'administration dans l'entreprise privée ne soient occupés que par des unilingues? Quand on songe aussi au nombre de professeurs d'université qui sont dans la même situation, il nous vient à l'esprit la pensée que l'élite intellectuelle du pays est étrangère à ce qui se passe dans une partie importante du Canada; elle n'en connaît pas plus que ne peuvent en savoir les gens moins instruits en lisant les journaux de langue anglaise. Un dialogue intelligent entre le Canada français et le reste du pays n'est guère possible dans ces conditions.

L'enseignement du français dans les universités canadiennes est une mesure qui s'impose immédiatement et il doit être confié à des spécialistes formés dans les universités canadiennes de langue française. S'il est nécessaire d'avoir recours à des professeurs venus de France pour l'enseignement supérieur de la littérature française, rien de plus naturel, mais leurs collègues canadiens francophones, parmi lesquels plusieurs ont une valeur égale et souvent supérieure, sont mieux en mesure de s'adresser à la jeunesse canadienne anglophone pour en être compris. Il incombe par conséquent aux universités du Québec, tout particulièrement de préparer un plus grand nombre de leurs diplômés capables de répondre à ce besoin et, d'autre part, il est nécessaire qu'on leur fasse, dans les institutions qui auront recours à leurs services, des conditions qui tiendront compte du rôle qu'ils auront à y jouer, y compris la possibilité de faire instruire leurs

enfants dans leur langue maternelle

Puisque l'intérêt mène le monde, il convient de faire comprendre que c'est une qualité que d'être bilingue. Quiconque l'a acquise mérite que dans un concours, on le préfère à celui qui ne la possède pas. Si la fonction publique fédérale adoptait cette règle et l'appliquait jusque dans les échelons supérieurs de l'administration, elle inciterait dès maintenant les étudiants à acquérir cette qualité qui les distinguerait parmi les concurrents à des postes dont on décréterait que les titulaires doivent être bilingues. L'entreprise privée ferait bien aussi de suivre la même voie dans le cas de ses employés qui viendront s'établir dans le Québec. Toutes ces mesures auront pour résultat de rendre attrayante l'étude du français même dans les provinces qui ne la rendraient pas obligatoire.

L'idéal serait que, dans un pays bilingue, l'étude des deux langues officielles soit obligatoire. Une telle mesure se heurte à des obstacles dont quelques uns paraissent, à l'heure actuelle, insurmontables. Le premier de ces obstacles, et le plus important, est celui de l'inutilité, pour un grand nombre, de cette étude. On ne le vaincra pas facilement si jamais on y parvient. Même la perspective, assez lointaine quand on l'enseigne à des enfants, de l'utilité éventuelle de la seconde langue ne suffit pas à justifier l'imposition d'une telle mesure, bien que le Québec maintienne sa politique du bilinguisme scolaire.

Un second obstacle, qui est particulier aux provinces de l'Ouest, est l'opposition des groupes ethniques d'origine non britannique et non française, plus nombreux dans ces provinces que les groupes d'expression française. Ils tiennent eux aussi à conserver la langue de leur pays d'origine mais ils savent qu'ils ne peuvent en rendre l'étude obligatoire. A leurs yeux, les Canadiens d'expression française n'ont pas plus de droit qu'eux-mêmes de prétendre à imposer l'étude de la leur. Les lois de ces provinces leur donnent raison. C'est un problème qu'il convient d'aborder et de résoudre de façon pragmatique. A défaut de pouvoir

imposer l'étude obligatoire d'aucune de ces langues, y compris le français, on peut du moins en favoriser l'enseignement. Rien n'empêche, en principe, que dans les écoles publiques, fréquentées principalement sinon uniquement par des petits Ukrainiens ou des petits Polonais, on leur enseigne la langue de leurs ancêtres, dans les classes élémentaires. Malgré l'attachement très profond de ces Canadiens pour la langue de leurs pays d'origine, il est fatal que dans quelques générations elle tombe en désuétude.

A cause de sa persistance dans le Québec, dans le Nouveau-Brunswick, et dans l'est de l'Ontario, et aussi à cause de l'importance grandissante qu'elle doit prendre dans l'administration fédérale, la langue française n'est pas dans la même situation. Il est nécessaire qu'il existe dans toutes les provinces où la population de langue française le justifie, des écoles publiques bilingues dont le français sera la langue principale. On se heurte ici à un nouvel obstacle qui est celui de la confessionnalité des écoles. Quoi qu'il en coûte aux convictions des francophones des autres provinces, il ne semble pas que l'on puisse éviter, si on veut y perpétuer l'enseignement du français, d'en venir à la conclusion que les écoles publiques devront cesser d'être confessionnelles. Déjà les Franco-Ontariens se font à cette idée que partagent de nombreuses personnalités du monde ecclésiastique.

La minorité anglophone du Québec, de l'aveu même de plusieurs dont la bonne foi est évidente et qui appuient leurs propos sur une expérience vécue, admet avec franchise qu'elle a profité de la situation favorable que le Québec français lui a faite et qu'en retour elle n'a pas fait assez pour comprendre, en apprenant leur langue, ce que peuvent et veulent leurs compatriotes francophones. L'image qu'ils s'en faisaient, et que bien peu de choses dans le comportement des Canadiens de langue française leur permettait de croire qu'elle n'était pas fidèle, les portait à compter comme négligeable l'apport de ce groupe, minoritaire en Amérique du Nord et replié sur lui-même, au progrès matériel de la province et du pays.

C'est ainsi qu'un vide s'est créé entre la direction anglaise des grandes entreprises et un prolétariat de langue française. Quiconque voulait s'élever dans l'administration devait parler l'anglais et calquer son comportement sur celui de la direction s'il ambitionnait de s'élever davantage dans la hiérarchie unilingue. Soucieux de réussir, tandis que leur système d'éducation préparait les jeunes Canadiens français aux professions libérales ou aux emplois subalternes, les Québécois d'origine étrangère suivaient plus volontiers l'exemple de leurs concitoyens de langue anglaise et grossissaient le nombre des anglophones.

Le Canada français a pris conscience de la part qu'il doit assumer et qui lui revient dans la vie économique du Québec. Parce qu'il arrive dans un monde où un bon nombre des jeux sont déjà faits et où les positions stratégiques sont déjà en grande partie occupées, il lui faut, de son côté, revendiquer le droit d'être traité comme un égal et il est nécessaire, du côté de l'entreprise, de reconnaître cette situation et de faire en sorte qu'elle se liquide équitablement. L'attitude qu'elle adoptera engage l'avenir et dépasse les frontières du Québec. Le temps n'est plus où la jeunesse du Québec ne se préparait pas aux multiples tâches de l'industrie, du commerce et de l'administration. Un regard sur les statistiques de l'inscription aux études supérieures dans nos universités fait voir la courbe constamment ascendante et de plus en plus accentuée des étudiants qui se destinent à la pratique du génie, des sciences, du commerce et de l'économique. Le pourcentage annuel d'augmentation du nombre des étudiants dans les universités du Québec est supérieur à celui des autres universités canadiennes. Ce nouvel afflux de professionnels ne répond pas encore aux seuls besoins du Québec mais on peut prévoir qu'un jour l'offre sera égale à la demande. Comme ils sont et qu'ils seront encore à l'avenir francophones, l'entreprise devra s'adapter à cette situation car, même s'ils sont bilingues, l'atmosphère des usines et des bureaux ne pourra plus être celle qui existe aujourd'hui.

Même si l'on doit admettre qu'en Amérique, l'anglais sera toujours

la langue dominante, le français ne pourra plus être entièrement laissé de côté. Si la mobilité du personnel exige qu'il soit mis en poste ailleurs au Canada, la question se pose de savoir de quelle façon les enfants venus du Québec pourront être instruits en français dans les endroits où leurs parents seront appelés à vivre pendant un certain temps. Il s'agit aussi de savoir comment les employés appelés à occuper des fonctions dans le Québec s'adapteront aux conditions qu'imposera le bilinguisme de leur nouvel environnement. Qu'il soient déjà bilingues ou au moins aptes à le devenir simplifiera grandement les choses.

Que ce soit donc au niveau des gouvernements, tant le fédéral que ceux des provinces, dans l'enseignement à tous ses degrés, dans l'entreprise privée, la solution qui s'impose dès maintenant exige que, de leur côté, les Canadiens de langue anglaise fassent droit aux légitimes demandes de leurs compatriotes francophones quant au bilinguisme et au biculturalisme et que ceux-ci, à leur tour, forts de la légitimité de leurs revendications et de l'appui d'un nombre grandissant de leurs compatriotes anglais qui les comprennent, ne se cantonnent pas dans un isolement dans lequel, en dépit de l'élan qui entraîne les plus dynamiques, certains semblent vouloir continuer de vivre. Le Canada tout entier est leur pays et ils doivent obtenir, même si l'échéance en paraît lointaine, que les conditions soient telles qu'ils puissent y jouir des mêmes avantages que ceux qui existent dans le Québec et que partagent leurs compatriotes de langue anglaise.

RECOMMANDATIONS

L'Université de Montréal ne fera que peu de recommandations et se limitera à quelques aspects généraux dont l'importance lui paraît fondamentale.

1. Elle recommande donc d'abord que le Canada soit doté d'une nouvelle Constitution qui garantira les droits de la langue française et l'expansion de la culture canadienne d'expression française dans tout le pays.
2. A l'intention du gouvernement fédéral, et en attendant que la Constitution devienne une réalité, elle recommande
 - a) qu'il prenne toutes les mesures nécessaires pour assurer dans toutes les phases de l'administration, tant civile que militaire et dans les services qui dépendent de lui ou du parlement, la pratique du bilinguisme et pour affirmer, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur, le caractère biculturel du pays;
 - b) que la présente Commission royale d'enquête devienne une Commission permanente dont les principales fonctions seraient de promouvoir la recherche sur le bilinguisme et le dualisme culturel, de conseiller le gouvernement fédéral et de favoriser, de concert avec les autorités provinciales, les échanges de professeurs et d'étudiants;
 - c) que le Conseil des arts accentue son action en subventionnant la diffusion et la traduction d'ouvrages qui sont de nature à mieux faire connaître les divers aspects de la réalité canadienne, les rencontres d'écrivains et d'artistes et les tournées de troupes de théâtre présentant des créations canadiennes;
 - d) qu'il s'entende avec le Québec et l'Ontario pour faire d'Ottawa et de

ses environs un district fédéral efficacement bilingue et représentatif du dualisme culturel du Canada.

3. A l'intention des gouvernements provinciaux

- a) qu'ils prennent les mesures nécessaires pour que l'enseignement du français et en français soit assuré à tous les degrés de l'enseignement dans les régions où la densité de la population francophone le requiert;
- b) que l'on donne à cet enseignement, dans toutes les écoles publiques, l'importance et l'efficacité qui conviennent à l'une des deux langues officielles du pays, selon la pratique établie et suivie dans le Québec;
- c) que, dans les cours de justice qui sont de leur juridiction ou dont elles assurent l'administration, l'usage du français soit assuré.

4. A l'intention de la province d'Ontario

qu'elle fasse à Ottawa, tant que cette ville ne sera pas déclarée district fédéral, un statut spécial qui en assurera le caractère bilingue et biculturel.

5. A l'intention des universités

- a) qu'elles assurent à tous leurs étudiants la possibilité d'être bilingues;
- b) qu'elles organisent l'enseignement aux adultes de telle sorte qu'il leur fasse mieux connaître la réalité bilingue et biculturelle du pays.

6. A l'intention des moyens de communication de masse et des organismes d'éducation des adultes

- a) que les journaux soient renseignés sur le Canada français par des cor-

respondants qui connaissent bien sa langue et sa mentalité, et que les éditorialistes commentent en connaissance de cause les événements qui, s'ils ne sont pas convenablement expliqués, sont de nature à fausser l'opinion de leurs lecteurs sur le Canada français;

- b) que la Société Radio-Canada et l'Office national du film jouent efficacement le rôle qui leur est confié de faire connaître le Canada aux Canadiens et que les émissions de radio et de télévision et les films traitent avec objectivité et de façon instructive de la réalité bilingue et biculturelle du pays;
- c) que les organismes d'éducation des adultes s'attachent à faire disparaître les préjugés qui font obstacle au bilinguisme et à la reconnaissance du dualisme culturel et qu'ils proposent au contraire une vue objective de la situation afin de faire admettre et accepter le caractère bilingue et biculturel du pays.

7. A l'intention de l'entreprise privée

- a) qu'elle admette, au Canada français, le français comme langue de travail dans ses établissements;
- b) qu'elle favorise l'usage du français dans ses relations avec la clientèle et les services gouvernementaux dans le Québec;
- c) que, tout en continuant d'assurer la mobilité de son personnel dans tout le pays, elle tienne compte des conditions qui existent au Canada quant à ses employés de langue française, et au Canada français pour ses employés qui ne sont pas francophones.

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A
BRIEF
submitted to the
ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

by the
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Toronto 5, Canada

July 6, 1964

INTRODUCTION

1. The University of Toronto, like several other Canadian universities, is older than Confederation. In the tradition of universities, as a multi-lingual, multi-cultural institution, it has some responsibilities transcending national interests. In curriculum, staff membership and student body, it is international. By reason of its basic assumptions, it accepts and nourishes differences of opinion, and the freedom to express unconventional and unpopular views, so long as they are consistent with the canons of responsible scholarship and of scientific procedures. Since it is rarely possible, in such an institution, to speak on any subject with a single, united voice (and this is as it should be), problems do arise in the preparation of university briefs to Royal Commissions.

2. The University has at any time the authority, and the obligation, to contribute information from its resources of knowledge and to assist in the clarification and resolution of problems beyond university jurisdiction which are within the range of that knowledge. It is, therefore, a normal activity of the appropriate division(s) of a university to participate in matters of national importance, as it is doing in contributing the experience and special knowledge of those members of the teaching staff who are on leave to assist in the work of this Commission and as it is doing through the presentation of several briefs from individuals and groups within the university.

3. The University of Toronto does not have strong opinions and related recommendations to submit to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. As its contribution to the work of the Commission, the University presents material illustrative of its relations with Canadian French-language institutions in scientific and scholarly activities of common interest, with the assurance that, as resources and opportunities permit, these associations will be extended and intensified.

4. It is emphasized that the University of Toronto, like every other Canadian university, has a responsibility to interpret all aspects

of Canadian life and Canadian history, among other teaching duties, to its students. This duty it has been discharging for well over a century and will continue to discharge as fully and as effectively as its resources permit.

5. The University of Toronto herewith submits, for information, some material illustrative of relations which exist between some of its teaching divisions and French-language institutions in Canada. It is not presented as an exhaustive inventory, but it is offered as evidence of healthy relations.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO AND FRENCH CANADA : SOME RELATIONS

The University Library

6. The Library, as a part of its regular official procedures:
- (a) maintains regular exchanges of journals with many French-language universities in Canada and throughout the world;
 - (b) engages in inter-library lending with French-language universities in Canada, including the two bilingual universities in Ontario;
 - (c) has maintained, for more than twenty years, a standing order with a French-Canadian bookseller, for copies of most books published in French Canada;
 - (d) partly as a result of this order, has built up a collection in French literature which was judged in a recent NCCUC survey to be the strongest in Canada. There are good French-language collections also in philosophy and the social sciences, as well as the sciences;
 - (e) through the National Library, cards are contributed for all holdings to the National Union Catalogue, which represents the holdings of all major Canadian libraries in French, English and other languages.

7. Unofficially, members of the library staff participate, through the Canadian Library Association and other organizations, in establishing standards of professional education and practice for the benefit of all libraries in the country, whether the main language is English or French.

Faculty of Arts and Science

8. Department of Astronomy: Although there is a growing interest in Astronomy across Canada among university students, the interest which

has recently developed in the Province of Quebec has been unexpected. Three of 17 graduate students in 1963-64 are French-Canadians, two from Montreal and one from Quebec City. It is hoped that these young men will return to teach Astronomy in French Canada, and that others will come to this University for graduate work. There is an opportunity to develop a closer liaison between Dr. Pierre Demarque's research group here (interested in stellar evolution) and Dr. Hubert Reeve's group at the University of Montreal (interested in nuclear processes in stars). A beginning has been made in 1963. The University of Laval has expressed some interest in developing an astronomy group there a few years hence.

9. Department of Chemistry: There has always been a good interchange of scholars with the Departments of Chemistry at Laval, Ottawa and the University of Montreal. Two of the Toronto staff are quite fluent in French and one of them has lectured in that language at Laval. A former Dean of Science of Laval University was a visiting professor here two years ago. There have been a number of graduate students whose mother tongue is French from the Province of Quebec and from Belgium. One Toronto graduate took the Ph.D. at Laval and is now on the staff of the University of British Columbia.

10. Department of Fine Art: The Department of Fine Art would welcome the establishment and development of similar departments at the University of Montreal and at Laval University. The very considerable body of archives which the Province of Quebec has collected has remained virtually unused either by French-language or Toronto students. The Department has always hoped that an institution in Quebec would take up the study of the material, so that graduate students of Toronto might be able to spend some time working under supervision in Quebec.

11. Department of French: See separate submission.

12. Department of Geography: The Department has a French-Canadian staff member. One, and possibly two, Anglo-Canadians who are fluent in French will join the staff in 1964. One graduate student is applying for a junior post in the Centre d'Etudes Nordiques at Laval University.

13. Department of History: This Department, more than most other departments, is concerned with understanding and interpreting Canadian problems, past and present. In discharging its duties, it has established close relations with French-language institutions and individuals. Among other activities, the John and Kenneth Gray Lectures assure the Department an annual visit from a French-language speaker interpreting particular problems of French-language regions in Canada. Knowledge of French is required of all students having a major interest in history.

14. Department of Political Economy: The Department has had exchanges with Laval and Montreal, and has several bilingual members of staff. As with historians, the problems of French Canada are of special interest to the economists and political scientists.

Faculty of Medicine

15. No formal relationship exists between the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Toronto and corresponding faculties at Laval and the University of Montreal. Relationships have been cordial, however, and there is frequent communication, particularly between members of the Departments of Pathology, Medicine and Surgery. Members of staff have been invited to Laval, in particular, to give lectures. Graduate students from both universities have taken training in Surgery and surgical specialties, and in Medicine here. There are always one or two such students, and as many as six or eight at one time during the past ten years.

Faculty of Law

16. The Faculty of Law has for almost fifteen years carried on comparative studies in Quebec civil and English common law with the co-operation of the Faculties of Law at Laval, University of Montreal and McGill. This has been assisted by a grant of approximately \$80,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, which has been used (1) to build up holdings of Quebec legal materials; (2) to subsidize graduate students from French-Canadian universities to do work here in the field of comparative law; and (3) to organize a course for Toronto students on some of the basic problems of the Quebec Civil Code.

Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering

17. The students engaged in an exchange week-end (1963-64) with students of l'Ecole Polytechnique (Montreal), in the hope that some exchange in summer employment might be worked out.

18. The Institute for Aerospace Studies has very close relations with the Department of Mechanical Engineering, Laval University, and with the Canadian Armament Research and Development Establishment (bilingual). Contacts and exchange of information with these two organizations are improving every year.

Faculty of Pharmacy

19. Close relationships have been maintained with the Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Montreal, on both a personal basis between staff members, and on the basis of regular exchanges of academic information. An annual Interfaculty Conference was inaugurated in 1962. The two held thus far have been very successful. It is planned to develop exchanges of lectures and of graduate students. Two lectures have been given by Montreal staff to Toronto students. Toronto staff members have also presented two lectures in Montreal.

School of Social Work

20. Some of the most significant and far-reaching developments in social welfare administration and in the development of education and training for professional practice and for technical services are emerging from studies and departures in the Province of Quebec. Many of the most important documents resulting from recent and current studies are in the French language; only abstracts or selected passages get translated into English. The Canadian Welfare Council is making a deliberate and intensive effort to promote bilingualism and biculturalism. Two members of the present staff of the School of Social Work are bilingual, and this has served to facilitate communication with colleagues in Quebec and with French-speaking persons in other parts of Canada.

School of Nursing

21. The University of Montreal and the Margaret d'Youville Institute, Montreal, are associated with the English-Canadian schools of nursing through the Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing, which meets

annually. Requests are received from time to time from the schools in Montreal concerning developments in the University of Toronto School of Nursing, and contact is maintained with directors of these schools at meetings, the most recent of which was a conference held by the federal government concerning Colombo Plan students. The Canadian Nurses' Association has tried throughout the years to maintain a close liaison with the French-language nurses. The Canadian Nurse Journal and all reports of the Association are published in both English and French.

School of Hygiene

22. Friendly relationships are maintained with the Ecole d'Hygiène, University of Montreal. Both Schools are members of the Association of Schools of Public Health, Inc., which includes all the fourteen graduate schools of Public Health in North America.

Institute of Computer Science

23. The Institute of Computer Science, through an arrangement with the National Research Council of Canada, carries out computing without charge for other Canadian universities when the problems warrant the use of its special facilities. Among the universities which are using these facilities are: University of Montreal, Laval University, University of Ottawa, Sherbrooke University.

Students' Administrative Council

24. For about fifteen years the Students' Administrative Council has sponsored an exchange programme with the students of the University of Montreal. More recently, St. Michael's College has organized a somewhat similar exchange with the students of Laval University.

University of Toronto Press

25. See separate submission.

Connaught Medical Research Laboratories

26. Relations with the Institute of Microbiology of the University of Montreal have always been cordial, and collaboration has at times been extensive. The most recent case was in the development of Live, Oral Polio-virus Vaccine (Sabin). In this project, magnificent co-operation was, and still is, provided by institutions in Quebec City through the good offices of the Ministry of Public Health of Quebec.

Royal Ontario Museum

27. Bilingualism: Of a curatorial staff of 33, five are quite bilingual in French and English, three are "rather fluent", and eleven read the French language with ease but are less able to speak it. Of the teaching staff, none is capable of taking a class or party of French-speaking persons. Several of the departmental secretaries in the Museum speak French well.

28. Joint Ventures: The Ethnology Department was responsible for the excavation of Fort Ste. Marie, with valuable results for French history. This report was fully published by the University of Toronto Press in 1949. One member of staff is still working at Fort Albany in James Bay, which had periods of French occupation, and materials of French cultural interest are still being uncovered and preserved by the Royal Ontario Museum.

 The Ethnology Department was intimately concerned, at Quebec City in 1958, in the foundation of the Equipe d'Archéologie de Québec. From this grew the Secrétariat d'Archéologie, now attached to the Commission des Monuments et Site Historiques ou Artistiques, with which the Ethnology Department still has close contact.

 The Department of Ichthyology is at the moment engaged in a co-operative venture with the Division de la Recherche, Service de la Faune, Montreal, in making a checklist of the marine fishes of the Canadian Atlantic Coast. They will give complete listings of the common names of fishes, in both French and English.

 There is also considerable collaboration between this museum department and the Quebec Department of Fish and Game.

29. Societies: Excellent relationships exist with the A.C.F.A.S. (Association Canadienne-française pour l'Avancement de Science).

 Members of the Museum staff belong to La Société Canadienne des Etudes Classiques.

ANALYST: J. Gerald Valiquette

NO.: 750-483

TITLE: A Brief Submitted to the
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by the
University of Toronto

AUTHOR:

Brief of 7 pages ; No recommendation (s)

REMARKS OF ANALYST: "The University of Toronto does not have strong opinions and related recommendations to submit to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. As its contribution to the work of the Commission, the University presents material illustrative of its relations with Canadian French language institutions in scientific and scholarly activities of common interests". This is done in concise outline form which makes summarizing unnecessary. The introduction stresses the need for university participation in the settling of national issues which are not within its direct province, but for which its nature has suited it.

ATT.: RESEARCH

The University of Toronto and French Canada: Some Relations (pages 2 to 7)

TABLE OF CONTENTS:PAGES

RECOMMENDATIONS:

BRIEF: Introduction	1
The University of Toronto and French Canada: Some Relations	2
The University Library	2
Faculty of Arts and Science	2
Department of Astronomy	2
Department of Chemistry	3
Department of Fine Art	3
Department of French	3
Department of Geography	3
Department of History	4
Department of Political Economy	4
Faculty of Medicine	4
Faculty of Law	4
Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering	5
Faculty of Pharmacy	5
School of Social Work	5
School of Nursing	5
School of Hygiene	6
Institute of Computer Science	6
Students' Administrative Council	6
University of Toronto Press	6
Connaught Medical Research Laboratories	6
Royal Ontario Museum	7
Bilingualism	7
Joint Ventures	7
Societies	7

DOCUMENTS PREPARATOIRES

Mémoire #: 750-544

Université d'Ottawa

OTTAWAA. RENSEIGNEMENTS SUR L'ORGANISATION1. BUTS

- a) Favoriser le développement des connaissances et la diffusion du savoir;
- b) Assurer, en conformité des principes chrétiens, l'épanouissement intellectuel, spirituel, moral, physique et social, de ses sous-gradués, de ses gradués et des membres de son corps enseignant, développer parmi ceux-ci l'esprit communautaire et travailler à l'amélioration de la Société;
- c) Favoriser le développement du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, préserver et développer la culture française en Ontario.

2. EFFECTIFS

- 1) Corps étudiant 1963-64
à plein temps-3,809; du soir 1,500;
de l'été 3,000.
- 2) Corps enseignant 1963-64
à plein temps 450; à temps partiel 400.

3. PREPARATION DU MEMOIRE

Le mémoire a été préparé par un comité constitué à cette fin. Ce comité a d'abord dressé un plan provisoire qu'il a soumis à tous les professeurs à service complet et aux principaux membres des services administratifs. Il s'est ensuite tenu en contact avec eux tout au long du travail de rédaction. Le texte final a été agréé officiellement par le Conseil d'Administration de l'Université.

4. LES NOUVELLES STRUCTURES ADMINISTRATIVES DE L'UNIVERSITE

Le mémoire fait mention ici et là de différents aspects de la structure administrative de l'université d'Ottawa (confessionnelle, catholique, dirigée par les Pères Oblats). Ces explications ne sont plus valables depuis le 1er juillet 1965, date de l'entrée en vigueur de la "Loi de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1965".

Cette loi revise la charte de l'Université et lui confère de nouvelles structures administratives. Essentiellement, l'Université se transforme en deux institutions différentes:

- i) L'Université St-Paul, à caractère confessionnel, dirigée et administrée par les Pères Oblats de Marie-Immaculée, et englobant les facultés ecclésiastiques (Droit canonique, Théologie);
- ii) L'Université d'Ottawa, à caractère non-confessionnel mais d'inspiration chrétienne, et comprenant toutes les autres facultés.

L'Université d'Ottawa est dirigée par un Bureau des Gouverneurs de 32 membres constitués en corporation et à qui incombe la responsabilité de gouverner, diriger, administrer et régir l'Université et ses biens, revenus, affaires et activités. Au sein du Bureau, Les Pères Oblats sont en minorité et les deux groupes ethniques français et anglais sont représentés. Outre le Bureau des Gouverneurs, l'Université a également un Sénat qui est chargé d'établir la politique de l'Université dans le domaine de l'éducation.

Par cette réorganisation de ses structure administratives, l'Université d'Ottawa se qualifie maintenant sans restrictions pour les subsides provinciaux.

L'Université St-Paul, pour sa part, est fédérée avec l'Université d'Ottawa. Quant au St. Patrick's College, il a le choix de se fédérer, s'affilier ou devenir une partie intégrante de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Parmi les objectifs de l'Université d'Ottawa contenus dans le texte de loi, on relève le suivant:

"Favoriser le développement du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, préserver et développer la culture française en Ontario."

B. QUESTIONS...

...EN PROVENANCE DU SERVICE DES AUDIENCES

page 6
para. 13

Q. 1 Est-ce que cet état d'esprit existe toujours, et où est-il surtout évident?

page 7

Q. 2 "Nous sommes également conscients du fait qu'une indiscutable évolution se manifeste actuellement au sein de ce groupe (les Anglo-canadiens)."

Pourraient-ils nous donner quelques exemples de cette évolution?
A-t-on pu observer ce phénomène à l'Université même, soit parmi le corps professoral anglophone, soit parmi les étudiants anglais?

page 10
renvoi 2 en
bas de page

Q. 3 re Rappel historique

Pour quelles raisons l'Université Laval faisait-elle obstacle, en cour romaine, aux demandes d'Ottawa en vue d'obtenir une charte pontificale?

page II
para. 19

Q. 4 De 1874 à 1900, le bilinguisme fut réduit à l'Université d'Ottawa, à la faveur de l'anglais. Le mémoire conclut: "Notre idéal de culture intellectuelle devenait moins exclusivement québécois."

De ce fait, l'Université ne devenait-elle pas moins française, et conséquemment, plus préjudiciable au fait français en Ontario?

Considèrent-ils aujourd'hui que l'idéal de culture intellectuelle des Canadiens français hors du Québec doit être, sinon exclusivement, du moins essentiellement québécois, ou s'il peut être autre chose tout en demeurant français?

page 12
para. 20

Q. 5 "De plus, la majorité des étudiants québécois venaient au collège pour apprendre l'anglais (entre 1874-1900)".

Cette constatation est-elle toujours vraie aujourd'hui?

page 17
para. 30

Q. 6 re La création d'une faculté de médecine en 1945 où "pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, on choisit de donner les cours en anglais seulement, sauf le cours d'ethnique médicale qui fut doublé."

Quelles furent ces "raisons d'ordre pratique"? Pourquoi cette situation n'a-t-elle pas changé de nos jours? (voir annexe I, p. 83)

Pourquoi la fondation de la Faculté des Sciences pures et appliquées en 1953, "dans les mêmes conditions provisoires" ne provoqua-t-elle aucune réaction défavorable? (p. 18, para. 33)

page 18
para. 32

Q. 7 Sans en entreprendre la défense, pouvez-vous nous donner une explication quant aux solutions adoptées?

page 18
para. 34

Q. 8 Le bilinguisme de votre université n'a-t-il pas contribué dans une certaine mesure à l'anglicisation des Canadiens français?

pages 18-19
para. 34

Q. 9 re L'existence de frictions au sein du corps étudiant.

Même si ces frictions n'engendrent pas le désordre, n'existe-t-il pas néanmoins un climat latent de méfiance mutuelle entre étudiants francophones et anglophones?

L'allusion (p.20 para. 36) "aux mouvements d'opinion récents tendant à scinder l'Association générale des Etudiants en deux sections autonomes, une française et une autre anglaise" n'est-elle pas une confirmation de ce fait?

Que fait l'Université pour empêcher le plus possible l'existence d'un climat d'antipathie mutuelle parmi les étudiants?

page 20
para. 39

Q. 10 re Le bilinguisme chez les professeurs.

De toute évidence, l'Université ne considère pas le bilinguisme comme un critère d'emploi pour ses professeurs (et ceci joue au détriment de ses professeurs français). L'Université n'a-t-elle jamais envisagé cette possibilité? Si oui, pourquoi y-a-t-elle renoncé? Ne pourrait-elle pas accroître le degré de bilinguisme chez ses professeurs en offrant une prime aux professeurs bilingues, ou ne prend-elle en considération que la compétence professionnelle dans le choix de ceux-ci? Y-a-t-il des facultés où l'on exige des professeurs qu'ils soient bilingues?

page 21
para. 40

Q. 11 Lors des rencontres générales, quelle est la langue de travail?

page 22
para. 41

Q. 12 Les raisons mentionnées dans ce paragraphe s'appliquent-t-elles toujours à la suite des récents changements administratifs?

page 26
para. 49

Q. 13 "Car les professeurs comme les étudiants apprennent à accepter leurs collègues de l'autre groupe, à les apprécier, à reconnaître l'enrichissement apportée à la patrie canadienne par cette autre façon d'être canadien."

Est-ce que cette atmosphère de paix existe vraiment chez vous auprès des professeurs et des élèves?

Pouvons nous conclure en conséquence que le problème des deux solitudes n'existe pas chez vous et qu'il existe au contraire une communication constante entre les deux groupes?

page 34
para. 63

Q. 14 Jusqu'à quel point l'emploi d'une langue seconde pour enseigner a-t-elle diminué la facilité d'expression dans leur langue maternelle chez les professeurs de votre université?

page 37
para. 70

- Q. 15 Le B.A. des collèges classiques du Québec est-il toujours suffisant pour l'admission à votre faculté de médecine?

Est-ce la politique de la Faculté de droit de demander à tous ses élèves de se familiariser avec et le Common Law et le droit civil?

page 39
para. 72

- Q. 16 re Leur conception de l'Université d'Ottawa "Pour nous, le mot université ne désigne pas seulement l'ensemble des écoles professionnelles de l'ancienne tradition québécoise, ni le complexe actuel du Québec, lui-même en pleine évolution; nos cadres ressemblent beaucoup plus à ceux des universités anglophones nord-américaines. Sous les dehors de cette organisation, il est facile de reconnaître une forte inspiration canadienne-française, surtout dans les facultés et écoles consacrées aux disciplines dites humanistes, mais il est bien clair que chez nous, "canadien-français" n'est pas synonyme de "québécois".

Quel sens donnent-ils aux mots "canadien-français" et "québécois" et quelles distinctions font-ils entre eux?

Quelle est la vocation primordiale de l'Université d'Ottawa: servir les intérêts des Franco-ontariens, ceux du Canada français en général, ou voir à la formation universitaire de Canadiens français et de Canadiens anglais dans un milieu bilingue?

page 48
para. 4.I

- Q. 17 "Nous avons prouvé la possibilité d'une université bilingue au Canada."

Avez-vous déjà effectué, ou songé à faire, un sondage parmi les Anciens pour savoir ce qu'ils pensaient de leur expérience bilingue à l'Université? Ne sont-ils pas ceux qui, avec les étudiants actuels, sont, en fin de compte, les meilleurs juges de la réussite ou de l'échec de l'expérience bilingue de l'Université?

page 55
para. 99

- Q. 18 Qu'est-ce qui vous fait dire que des émissions en langue française seraient bien reçues aux réseaux anglais de Radio-Canada?

pages 58-59

Q. 19 Au paragraphe 72, le mémoire croit nécessaire d'affirmer que "canadien-français" et "québécois" ne sont pas synonymes, voulant dire par là qu'un Franco-ontarien n'est pas un Québécois et qu'il possède des particularismes bien à lui. Pourtant, aux pages 58 et 59, le mémoire s'empresse de proclamer que seul le Québec a su respecter l'aspect confessionnel du système d'éducation et qu'il devrait en être ainsi pour tout le Canada. Sur ce point, les Canadiens français hors du Québec ne sauraient se différencier d'un iota de leurs confrères québécois. Or voilà justement un domaine où les Canadiens français pourraient se distinguer des Québécois, en ayant des écoles non-confessionnelles mais néanmoins françaises. Nous serions en présence d'un particularisme facile à discerner. Qu'en pensent-ils? Croient-ils que les minorités françaises auraient plus de chances de réussir s'ils dissociaient la langue de la religion et réclamaient des écoles non-confessionnelles françaises? (Au dernier congrès de l'ACELF tenu au mois d'août à Halifax, Mgr. Baudoux, archevêque de St-Boniface, déclarait, à propos d'une étude sur les minorités françaises, que la religion ne doit pas nuire à l'épanouissement de l'homme. (Devoir, 19 août 1965))

page 60
para. 109

Q. 20 "Nous connaissons les conséquences pratiques de l'une et l'autre de ces visions du bien commun."
Quelles sont-elles?

page 61
para. 111

Q. 21 "Il vaudra mieux voir le Canada constitué par deux groupes ethniques, comme un fait établi, accompli..."
Quelle est la place des Néo-Canadiens dans ce Canada?

page 66
para. 119

Q. 22 Pouvez-vous estimer le nombre de professeurs qui ont refusé d'enseigner chez vous à cause du caractère unilingue de la capitale et des autres raisons mentionnées dans ce paragraphe?

page 69
para. 125

Q. 23 Pouvez-vous élaborer au sujet de la structure du district fédéral que vous proposez?

page 75
para. 137

Q. 24 Cette recommandation exclut-elle la poursuite de ce travail par d'autres organismes?

page 76
para. 139

Q. 25 Cette recommandation ne semble pas effectuer la nature confessionnelle des écoles, est-ce juste?

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MÉMOIRE

présenté à la Commission royale d'enquête

sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme

par

l'Université d'Ottawa

Ottawa, 1964

M E M O I R E

présenté à la Commission royale d'enquête
sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme

par

l'Université d'Ottawa

OTTAWA, 1964

Un collège sera admirablement bien placé à Bytown vu que cette ville prend de l'extension et qu'elle se trouve placée dans un centre de population qui augmente continuellement. Un collège d'ailleurs contribuera puissamment à cimenter les liens les plus durables de tous ceux de la jeunesse entre les hommes d'origine et de religion différentes et effacera les antipathies naturelles et toujours déplorables parmi les citoyens de la même patrie.

Monseigneur Eugène Guigues, o.m.i.,
Evêque de Bytown,
Fondateur du Collège de Bytown (1848)

L'UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA RECOMMANDE

- 1.- Que la Commission étudie les moyens les plus efficaces de rendre la ville d'Ottawa vraiment bilingue et recommande aux gouvernements intéressés les mesures à prendre à cette fin. Si les administrations locale et provinciale refusaient de prêter leur entière collaboration à cette entreprise, que la Commission recommande la création d'un district fédéral. Dans ce cas, l'Université recommande avec force que le gouvernement central use de tous ses pouvoirs pour garantir les droits acquis des Canadiens français de l'Ontario.
- 2.- Que le travail de recherche de la Commission royale soit continué de façon permanente par les universités du Canada, sous la conduite d'un comité de coordination de la Conférence nationale des universités et collèges canadiens. Que les universités engagées dans ce travail ou dans des expériences de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme reçoivent une aide financière adéquate.
- 3.- Que dans toutes les provinces anglophones, en Ontario surtout, des écoles secondaires (y compris la dernière année, Grade XIII), emploient le français comme langue d'enseignement pour toutes les matières du programme.

INTRODUCTION

L'Université d'Ottawa croit posséder un titre spécial 1
à témoigner devant la Commission royale d'enquête sur le
bilinguisme et le biculturalisme au Canada. Elle poursuit
depuis plus de cent ans une expérience de bilinguisme
qu'elle a toujours voulue honnête. Elle a tenté également
une expérience du biculturalisme là où il peut être à la
fois le plus difficile et le plus enrichissant: dans le
domaine des études supérieures et de la culture intellec-
tuelle. La génération actuelle de ceux qui constituent
l'Université, qui vivent de ses espoirs, de ses succès,
de ses déboires, veut apporter au travail de la Commission
le concours d'un témoignage vivant.

Nous pourrions sans doute présenter un ensemble 2
d'études techniques sur bien des points qui intéressent
la Commission. Nous avons déjà fourni une contribution
dans ce domaine, en libérant quelques-uns de nos profes-
seurs de leurs charges afin qu'ils puissent se consacrer
au service immédiat de la Commission. La modicité de nos
ressources, rançon de notre fidélité au biculturalisme tel
que nous l'entendons, ne nous a pas permis d'accéder à
toutes vos demandes. Notre mémoire pour sa part sera
essentiellement le compte rendu d'une expérience. Bilin-
guisme et biculturalisme ont toujours été parties inté-
grantes de nos aspirations, de nos joies et de nos soucis
quotidiens. Comme toutes les universités du pays, nous
sommes d'abord consacrés à la poursuite d'un idéal de
culture humaniste et scientifique, nous travaillons à
servir la patrie canadienne et sa classe étudiante, nous
tâchons de participer à l'oeuvre de coopération intellec-
tuelle internationale. Mais ces hautes visées sont mar-
quées chez nous par le caractère bilingue et biculturel

dont une longue tradition fait deux des traits les plus caractéristiques de notre vie et de notre visage. Bilinguisme et biculturalisme inspirent toute notre existence et pèsent sur elle de tout leur poids. Ils marquent l'image que l'Université présente aux yeux de la population canadienne comme aux yeux des administrations publiques. Les louanges et les incompréhensions qui se croisent autour d'elle doivent en grande partie à cet idéal leur bizarre coïncidence.

Nous nous sentons le droit de saluer les fondateurs de notre institution comme des pionniers. Ils ont été les tenants d'un canadianisme authentique, à la fois idéalistes et pratiques, précurseurs de ceux qui croient vraiment aujourd'hui à l'utilité de la Commission royale. Et, justement à cause de cette parenté de vision, nous savons bien que la vie même de l'Université dépendra de l'acceptation ou du rejet par la population canadienne du fait le plus important de notre histoire: la rencontre sur un même sol de la culture française et de la culture anglo-saxonne. Le succès de la Commission est d'une importance vitale pour nous.

De plus, l'Université a été fondée et elle est encore dirigée par des membres de la congrégation des Oblats de Marie-Immaculée, celle-là même qui assume à peu près entièrement le travail missionnaire de l'Eglise catholique auprès des Indiens et des Esquimaux du Canada. Cette congrégation a aussi contribué largement, par son travail missionnaire même, à la découverte du Canada par lui-même dans sa réalité géographique et humaine. Nous avons des liens avec la patrie canadienne dans sa totalité.

C'est à ces titres que nous nous présentons devant la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.

Notre mémoire a été préparé par un comité constitué 6
à cette fin. Ce comité a d'abord dressé un plan provisoire qu'il a soumis à tous les professeurs à service complet et aux principaux membres des services administratifs; il s'est ensuite tenu en contact avec eux tout au long du travail de rédaction. Le texte final a été agréé officiellement par le Conseil d'Administration de l'Université.

Ce mémoire comprend trois parties. La première 7
rappelle à grands traits l'histoire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme à l'Université d'Ottawa. La deuxième présente un essai d'évaluation de l'expérience faite chez nous et tente de voir quelles conclusions on peut en tirer au profit de tout le Canada. La troisième partie soumet à la Commission les recommandations jugées opportunes à la lumière de cette expérience.

NOTE PRELIMINAIRE : Bilinguisme et biculturalisme

Nous voulons d'abord préciser le sens que nous donnerons aux mots bilinguisme et biculturalisme dans notre mémoire. Ces définitions s'inspirent toutes deux d'une idée de culture. Dans les perspectives de l'enquête royale, culture ne peut pas s'entendre d'abord au sens de développement humain, intégral et harmonieux, considéré comme un idéal auquel on doit tendre comme à un sommet¹. Ce sens est trop limité si on considère le biculturalisme comme un problème intéressant toute la population canadienne et non seulement la classe intellectuelle. Culture désigne plutôt, dans notre contexte, un mode de vie en totalité: l'ensemble des idées, des sentiments, des traditions, des habitudes et coutumes, des préjugés mêmes, qui se constitue lentement au sein d'un groupe humain et détermine sa physionomie propre parmi tous les autres. Cet ensemble englobe tous les domaines de la vie: personnel, familial, social, politique, économique, intellectuel, artistique et religieux.

De cet ensemble, la langue maternelle est partie constitutive. Elle est le cadre naturel où se moulent, à leur naissance, tous les autres éléments de la culture; elle les marque de son génie propre, elle en est le véhicule spontané. C'est dans sa langue qu'un homme pense naturellement et peut vraiment s'exprimer lui-même comme personne, qu'il peut décrire sa vision du monde selon

1 Les dictionnaires se limitent presque tous à ce sens: "Culture des lettres, des sciences, des beaux-arts" Littré); "Développement de certaines facultés de l'esprit par des exercices intellectuels appropriés" (Robert). "The training, development, and refinement of mind, tastes and manners; the condition of being thus trained and refined; the intellectual side of civilization" (Oxford).

toutes les nuances qu'il y voit spontanément. Une longue pratique du bilinguisme fera découvrir des formules de la langue seconde qui rendent l'une ou l'autre de ces nuances de façon intraduisible, ainsi les Anglais disent raison d'être et les Français melting pot. Ce sont là pourtant des cas d'exception. Plus exceptionnel encore le cas de ceux qui peuvent à volonté penser à l'anglaise ou penser à la française. D'une façon très générale, la langue maternelle est intégrée à toute la culture.

La langue joue encore un deuxième rôle, dont l'importance pratique est immense et auquel on songe d'abord 10 quand on parle de bilinguisme: elle est le moyen par lequel on entre en communication avec les autres; la langue garde évidemment son premier sens, mais elle devient surtout le moyen de se faire comprendre par ses interlocuteurs. Ainsi un Français et un Anglais peuvent préférer converser en italien s'ils communiquent mieux dans cette langue. L'inadvertance d'un traducteur qui rendait récemment par to demand le demander français, dans un mémoire du gouvernement provincial de Québec aux autorités fédérales, nous a amusés et encore plus les protestations violentes soulevées par cette distraction. Notre vie quotidienne est souvent égayée par de telles méprises. Il suffit d'un brin de sens de l'humour pour les trouver savoureuses avec aussi, bien entendu, une connaissance des deux langues qui permette de les reconnaître pour ce qu'elles sont. De tels malentendus sont faciles à corriger, on n'a qu'à employer un bon dictionnaire. Les vraies difficultés surgissent quand on essaie de traduire université par university, collège par college et nation par nation. Aucun dictionnaire ne peut justifier l'illusion qu'on pourrait entretenir d'avoir entamé l'irréductible dualité de pensée grâce à l'apparente symétrie des vocables.

C'est pourquoi il nous semble illusoire de traduire Canadien français par French-speaking Canadian. 11

Un Anglo-canadien peut maîtriser les secrets de la langue française au point de mériter l'appellation de French-speaking Canadian, il ne deviendra jamais canadien-français et il n'y tient vraisemblablement pas. L'inverse est également vrai. Même les extrémistes des deux groupes peuvent être bilingues.

Bilinguisme se rapportera, dans notre mémoire, à l'usage des langues française et anglaise comme moyens de communication. Biculturalisme désignera la dualité des cultures canadienne-française et anglo-canadienne, la langue n'étant ni séparée ni distinguée des autres éléments de la culture comprise comme mode de vie en totalité. 12

Nous emploierons souvent l'expression Anglo-canadiens en parallèle avec Canadien français. Nous désignerons alors un groupe que nous savons disparate à bien des points de vue. Il s'agit de tous les Canadiens dont la langue usuelle est l'anglais et qui, malgré bien des différences quant à l'origine raciale, à la religion, etc., se retrouvent dans une conception commune du Canada et de la place à faire à la culture française au Canada. La majorité des Anglo-canadiens ne semble voir aucune raison d'accorder à la culture et à la langue françaises un sort spécial au sein de la collectivité canadienne. Pour eux, Québec est une province comme les autres et les groupes canadiens-français des autres provinces n'ont droit à aucun traitement spécial. 13

Nous sommes bien conscients du fait que ce groupe anglo-canadien n'est pas un bloc monolithique, qu'il s'y trouve bien des nuances et même des différences 14

d'opinions à propos du Canada. Toutes nos affirmations à propos des Anglo-canadiens devront donc être interprétées comme tenant compte de cette diversité. Nous sommes également conscients du fait qu'une indiscutable évolution se manifeste actuellement au sein de ce groupe.

PREMIERE PARTIE : Histoire du bilinguisme et du
biculturalisme à l'Université d'Ottawa¹.

1. Première période : Bilinguisme intégral : 1848-1874.

L'Université d'Ottawa fut fondée en 1848 sous le nom 15
de Collège de Bytown, par Monseigneur Eugène Guigues, o.m.i.
L'évêque voulait offrir les avantages de l'enseignement
secondaire à la population du nouveau diocèse catholique
de Bytown dont il venait d'assumer la direction. L'insti-
tution permettrait aux jeunes catholiques d'acquérir une
culture intellectuelle qui leur ouvrît l'accès aux car-
rières professionnelles et à la fonction publique, à
égalité de chance avec leurs compatriotes d'autres con-
fessions religieuses². La population du diocèse étant
composée de Canadiens français (Canadiens, dans le voca-
bulaire de l'époque) et d'anglophones, le nouveau collège
devait être bilingue. Les catholiques de langue anglaise
pouvaient bien profiter du collège de Regiopolis récem-
ment ouvert à Kingston, les Canadiens français pouvaient
envoyer leurs enfants dans les collèges classiques du
Bas-Canada. Dans les deux cas, l'éloignement causait des

1 Ce résumé de notre histoire a été tiré en grande partie de
l'oeuvre du R.P. Gaston CARRIERE, O.M.I., Histoire documentaire
de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans
l'Est du Canada, Ottawa, Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1957-
5 volumes parus. Un extrait de cet ouvrage a été publié séparément:
L'Université d'Ottawa, 1848-1860, Ottawa, Editions de l'Université
d'Ottawa, 1960, 94 p. Nous avons pu consulter en manuscrit les
chapitres qui continuent cette histoire jusqu'en 1900. Il va sans
dire que certains épisodes de la vie de l'Université ne peuvent pas
encore faire l'objet d'une étude historique véritable. Leur
proximité impose une prudence et une discrétion faciles à comprendre.

2 "Une maison en bois pour servir de collège qui est mon unique
ressource pour obtenir quelques vocations ecclésiastiques et
répandre parmi les catholiques l'instruction qu'ils ont trop négli-
gée et dont les protestants se servent pour les opprimer et les
mépriser". Archives de la Propagation de la Foi de Paris, Dossier
F. 182; G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 11, n. 19.

L'allusion au recrutement du clergé révèle une préoccupation
réelle de l'évêque, mais non pas, semble-t-il, son intention pre-
mière en fondant le collège. Il fait valoir cet élément en deman-
dant l'aide financière de la Propagation de la Foi.

difficultés. De plus, Regiopolis était seulement anglais, les institutions québécoises purement françaises et la population locale avait besoin de connaître les deux langues¹. A la rigueur, les jeunes Anglo-canadiens pouvaient demeurer unilingues sans trop d'inconvénients, mais l'évêque voulait leur offrir l'occasion d'apprendre le français. Les Canadiens français devaient absolument savoir l'anglais s'ils voulaient prospérer et les sources historiques indiquent clairement que Monseigneur Guigues pensait surtout à eux, sans oublier cependant ses fidèles d'expression anglaise².

1 G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 68-69.

2 On pourrait citer bien des textes à l'appui de cette affirmation.

Quelques-uns de ces textes peuvent être sujets à caution; Monseigneur Guigues essayait d'obtenir des subsides du Gouvernement de l'Union à même les fonds destinés à l'éducation dans le Bas-Canada, il devait donc insister, auprès des ministres canadiens-français, sur l'utilité du collège pour les "Canadiens". Ainsi, dans une lettre à l'honorable J.H. Lafontaine: "Je me borne simplement à vous dire en particulier et confidentiellement que ce collège a été fondé dans l'intérêt du Bas-Canada plutôt que dans celui du Haut-Canada. Les usages et la langue française disparaissaient entièrement de cette partie de la province. Un collège seul pouvait arrêter ce qui à mes yeux était un véritable malheur". Archives de l'archevêché d'Ottawa, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 1, p. 78-79; G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 62, n. 7. Mais l'évêque écrit la même chose à d'autres correspondants. Ailleurs il parlera surtout des droits des catholiques, G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 66. Auprès d'autres personnages, on invoque surtout la présence d'étudiants anglophones pour obtenir des secours. Ainsi le P. Tabaret en 1854, G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 67. Mais les intérêts des Canadiens français et de la langue française restent l'argument le plus fréquent. Monseigneur Guigues l'emploie pour réclamer une part des biens de l'Université de Toronto: "... ne serait-il pas convenable qu'en retour le seul établissement sur le Haut-Canada qui enseigne le français, reçût aussi quelque encouragement de cette partie de la province, puisque surtout les fonds considérables provenant de l'Université de Toronto sont à la disposition du gouvernement et que la dernière loi concernant l'Université lui a permis de répartir ces revenus sur les divers établissements du haut Canada". A Georges-Etienne Cartier, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 6, p. 89; G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 82. L'évêque demande qu'on accorde aux "Canadiens" du Haut-Canada le traitement reçu par les Anglais du Bas-Canada. G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 75. L'Université d'Ottawa a participé à la présentation du mémoire soumis à la Commission royale par l'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, où il est clairement établi que cette égalité de traitement pour les minorités des deux provinces a été une des conditions essentielles de la naissance de la Confédération.

Le collège ouvrirait même ses portes aux enfants non catholiques, car son fondateur n'avait pas que des visées religieuses, il pensait à tout le pays: 16

Un collège sera admirablement bien placé à Bytown vu que cette ville prend de l'extension et qu'elle se trouve placée dans un centre de population qui augmente continuellement. Un collège d'ailleurs contribuera puissamment à cimenter les liens les plus durables de tous ceux de la jeunesse entre les hommes d'origine et de religion différentes et effacera les antipathies naturelles et toujours déplorables parmi les citoyens de la même patrie¹.

Ces intentions du fondateur étaient clairement formulées dès le début. C'est de leur valeur qu'on se réclamera ensuite pour obtenir des subsides du gouvernement, l'incorporation, l'octroi d'une charte civile puis d'une charte pontificale². 17

Le collège s'organisera en fonction de cet idéal. 18
Le corps enseignant, composé surtout de religieux oblats, venus de France ou canadiens-français, comprenait aussi des professeurs d'expression anglaise. Tous parlaient les deux langues et s'imposaient la tâche de dispenser un enseignement farouchement bilingue: le matin, toutes les matières étaient enseignées en anglais, on continuait en français durant l'après-midi³. A ce régime de rigoureuse égalité, tous les étudiants devaient se soumettre. Ils étaient, au début, à moitié de langue française et à moitié de langue anglaise y compris quelques protestants.

1 Lettre aux Messieurs de l'Ordonnance, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 1, p. 9; G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 8.

2 Dans ce dernier cas, on insistera sur les services rendus aux catholiques de langue anglaise pour éviter de susciter trop d'objections de la part de l'Université Laval. Déjà opposée aux projets d'une université à Montréal, l'institution québécoise faisait obstacle, en cour romaine, aux demandes d'Ottawa.

3 Lors des examens publics, des ministres protestants étaient même invités à faire partie du bureau des interrogateurs.

Toutes les manifestations publiques étaient bilingues.
Ce bilinguisme fut en vigueur de 1848 à 1874.

2. Deuxième période : Bilinguisme réduit : 1874-1900.

1874 marqua une date importante dans l'histoire de 19
l'Université. On avait suivi jusque-là, à peu de choses
près, le programme d'étude des collèges classiques du
Québec. A cette date, les dirigeants de l'institution
changèrent ce programme de façon substantielle. Les
motifs de cette transformation étaient surtout d'ordre
pratique: on voulait offrir aux étudiants un cours mieux
adapté à leurs besoins. Il semble évident aussi que
cette nouvelle vision était due en partie à l'influence
du milieu anglo-canadien d'Ontario. Notre idéal de
culture intellectuelle devenait moins exclusivement
québécois¹.

On modifia également le régime du bilinguisme dans 20
l'enseignement. Désormais les cours de latin, de grec,
de mathématique et de science seraient donnés exclusive-
ment en anglais à tous les étudiants. Les cours de fran-
çais, obligatoires pour tous, allaient être doublés, les
uns plus avancés destinés aux Canadiens français, les
autres mieux adaptés à la situation des anglophones. Les
cours de religion seraient également donnés dans les deux
langues. La population de l'Université avait évolué.
Les professeurs restaient en grande majorité de langue
française mais le nombre des anglophones s'y était accru.
Le corps étudiant surtout avait changé. La venue d'un
bon nombre d'Américains avait modifié les proportions:
il s'agissait maintenant d'un tiers d'étudiants de langue

1 Nous commenterons ce changement dans la deuxième partie du
mémoire. Cf. infra, p. 36-37.

française et de deux tiers de langue anglaise. De plus la majorité des étudiants québécois venaient au collège pour apprendre l'anglais.

On conserva cependant le bilinguisme officiel, 21
traditionnel dans la maison. Les membres des services administratifs étaient bilingues et toutes les manifestations publiques, réceptions, fêtes, collations de diplômes, se déroulaient dans les deux langues¹.

Les réactions à ce changement ne furent pas unanimes 22
au sein du collège. Des professeurs francophones s'y opposèrent, surtout des Canadiens français². Les sources documentaires connues ne contiennent à peu près rien de la réaction des étudiants ou de celle du grand public.

3. Troisième période : Retour au bilinguisme dans
l'enseignement : parallélisme,
1900-1915.

L'évolution du corps étudiant exigea une nouvelle 23
orientation en 1900. La majorité restait de langue anglaise, mais le nombre des Canadiens français augmentait graduellement, grâce surtout au développement du Juniorat du Sacré-Coeur. Sous la pression du personnel de cette maison, on instaura en 1900 le régime des cours parallèles,

1 Les annuaires de 1874 et 1875 furent publiés en anglais seulement.

En 1876 on en publia deux, l'un en français l'autre en anglais, ensuite on s'en tint à l'annuaire anglais. En 1893, on imprima un Aperçu du plan d'études destiné Aux Canadiens-Français des Etats-Unis. De 1888 à 1898 l'Université publia une revue en anglais, The Owl, continuée sous le titre The University of Ottawa Review, de 1898 à 1915. La Revue littéraire parut de 1901 à 1916.

2 Il n'est pas encore possible de déterminer avec certitude qui fut responsable de cette décision. Le P. Henri Tabaret, surnommé le second fondateur de l'Université, avait préparé la refonte des programmes, mais il hésitait, semble-t-il, à modifier le régime linguistique de la maison. Le Père Carrière, dans la partie encore manuscrite de son ouvrage, souligne des indices qui permettraient d'attribuer la décision finale au supérieur provincial des Oblats.

français et anglais. L'étude des deux langues restait obligatoire pour tous, selon le système adopté en 1874. Aux étudiants de langue française, on continuerait d'enseigner en anglais les sciences et les mathématiques. Les annuaires seraient maintenant publiés dans les deux langues et la vie officielle de l'institution resterait bilingue. Le corps professoral, sensiblement de même composition (l'élément canadien-français augmentait cependant au sein du groupe francophone), s'imposa donc de doubler son travail pour revenir au bilinguisme dans l'enseignement.

Les réactions à cette réforme furent variées. Le 24
corps étudiant semble l'avoir accueillie dans le calme et l'acceptation pacifique. Des manifestations plus bruyantes furent inspirées, quelques années plus tard, soit par des éléments extérieurs au collège, soit par un groupe de professeurs. Car les professeurs ne furent pas tous d'accord avec la nouvelle orientation, non plus que le secteur catholique de langue anglaise de la population outaouaise. Des protestations s'élevèrent et gagnèrent en ampleur. Il fallait, disait-on, aux catholiques anglais une université uniquement de langue anglaise et dirigée par des hommes de leur race et de leur mentalité. Cette université devrait être pour eux à Ottawa ce que Laval était à Québec pour les catholiques de langue française. A quoi on répondait dans l'autre camp, en invoquant les intentions qui avaient donné naissance à l'Université. De plus, les Canadiens français de l'Outaouais avaient besoin d'une université bilingue; à Québec on pouvait se permettre d'être seulement français, uniquement anglais à Toronto,

à Ottawa il fallait être bilingue¹.

La lutte, parfois violente, fut portée devant le grand public au cours d'une controverse prolongée². Le régime du parallélisme fut maintenu et 1915 consumma l'exode total des membres anglophones du personnel enseignant oblat. Ce départ priva l'Université de plusieurs excellents professeurs et accentua, aux yeux de la population de langue anglaise, le caractère de French school attaché à l'Université en dépit de son bilinguisme³.

Il serait impossible de comprendre ces événements sans les replacer dans leur cadre historique. A cette époque, les Canadiens français se croyaient l'objet d'un

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1 Nous avons déjà dit que la demande d'une charte pontificale avait été appuyée par une insistance sur les services rendus par l'Université aux catholiques de langue anglaise. Certains textes de cette époque sont alors invoqués. La majorité des Oblats français (i.e. originaires de France) favorisaient la thèse des catholiques de langue anglaise. La détermination à garder l'Université bilingue ne se trouvait que chez les membres canadiens-français du personnel enseignant. Les raisons invoquées par eux dans cette controverse : le caractère bilingue de la patrie canadienne et de la région outaouaise en particulier, le fait qu'Ottawa soit la capitale nationale, ne semblent avoir eu de valeur que pour eux. Pour leurs contradicteurs, Laval suffisait aux Canadiens français; hors du Québec il n'y avait de place que pour l'anglais. On acceptait ces unilinguismes provinciaux comme allant de soi, on ne voyait pas de raisons au bilinguisme.

2 A SEARCHLIGHT, Showing the Need of a University for the English Speaking Catholics of Canada, s.l., [1906], 48 p.

A SEARCHLIGHT, Deux extraits d'un étrange mémoire Irlandais au sujet de l'Université d'Ottawa, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 4 (1909-1910), p. 123-131.

A SEARCHLIGHT [traduction française], dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 5 (1910-1911), p. 173-185.

L'UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA, mémoire sur le projet de transformer l'Université d'Ottawa en université de langue anglaise exclusivement, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 5 (1910), p. 86-95.

ANONYME [SIMARD, Georges, O.M.I.], L'Université d'Ottawa. I. Histoire du passé. II. L'Orientation de l'avenir, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 5 (1910), p. 174-187; 263-291.

SIMARD, Georges, O.M.I., L'Université d'Ottawa, dans La Nouvelle-France, t. 14 (1915), p. 159-169; 206-217; 242-255.

L'UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA, Un mémoire présenté en 1901 au Supérieur général des Oblats et au Délégué apostolique. Les signatures, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 7 (1911), p. 16-31.

L'UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA, La réponse de Mgr Duhamel au mémoire irlandais, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 7 (1911), p. 81-98; 161-176.

3 On verra par la suite que cette remarque n'implique aucune condamnation, cf. infra, p. 52-53.

mouvement concerté tendant à les convaincre de s'angliciser afin de favoriser l'essor du catholicisme dans l'Amérique du Nord décidément anglophone¹. L'atmosphère des milieux catholiques était fort chargée. On était aussi au plus fort des luttes scolaires en Ontario, alors que les écoles françaises de la province subissaient des assauts forcenés². Les catholiques étaient profondément divisés par les problèmes de langues. L'Université d'Ottawa ressentit les contrecoups de ces luttes³. Elle en ressortit fidèle à son idéal de bilinguisme mais meurtrie et diminuée. Cette tempête, suivant de près l'incendie de 1903 qui avait réduit en cendres la presque totalité de ses édifices, ralentit son développement normal pour bien des années.

1 Au Congrès eucharistique de Montréal, en 1910, l'archevêque de Westminster, Monseigneur Bourne, avait prononcé un discours qui fut interprété en ce sens (le prélat se défendit plus tard contre cette interprétation). Henri Bourassa lui donna une réplique retentissante. XXI^e Congrès eucharistique international. Montréal, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1911, p. 150-153; 161-167. Les revues de combat dénonçaient la mainmise des Irlandais sur les oeuvres catholiques fondées par des Canadiens français et sur les sièges épiscopaux, v.g. J.L. LAFLAMME, A l'assaut des institutions canadiennes-françaises, dans La Revue Franco-Américaine, t. 3-4-5, une longue série d'articles sous ce titre. Au t. 4 (1909), p. 25-38, l'auteur examine la question de l'Université d'Ottawa. En 1910, Monseigneur Charles-Hugues Gauthier accédait au siège archiépiscopal d'Ottawa. Malgré son nom français, il était de langue et de mentalité anglo-canadienne. Les catholiques de langue française, la majorité des fidèles du diocèse, acceptèrent assez mal cette nomination.

2 En janvier 1910, avait lieu le Congrès d'éducation des Canadiens français d'Ontario qui donna naissance à L'Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario. Le trop célèbre Règlement XVII, réduisant pratiquement à rien la place du français dans les écoles de la province, est de juin 1912.

3 Le départ des premiers Oblats de langue anglaise à quitter l'Université fut provoqué par leur rôle au cours d'élections à la commission scolaire. Les étudiants anglophones de l'Université organisèrent une grève de protestation contre leur "exil".

4. Quatrième période : Le bilinguisme du parallélisme :
1915-1945.

La formule des cours parallèles, adoptée en 1900, 27
fut maintenue jusqu'en 1945. La majorité des professeurs
restait de langue française. Peu à peu, l'affluence des
jeunes du Québec, dont plusieurs étaient attirés par la
possibilité d'apprendre l'anglais dans un milieu bilingue,
changea les proportions parmi les étudiants. Le bilin-
guisme de l'institution servit bientôt une majorité de
Canadiens français et une minorité d'anglophones, cana-
diens et américains. L'étude de l'autre langue restait
obligatoire pour tous.

L'enseignement des sciences et des mathématiques 28
fut dispensé en anglais aux élèves du cours français
jusqu'en 1949. Il y avait deux raisons à cette pratique.
D'abord les étudiants ontariens, ayant eu leur initiation
à ces sciences en anglais dans les High Schools de la
province, trouvaient particulièrement difficile de passer
au français à leur entrée à l'Université. D'autre part,
le grand nombre de nos étudiants québécois venaient ici
dans l'espoir d'acquérir une bonne connaissance de l'an-
glais. L'obligation de suivre des cours dans cette
langue assurait leur persévérance, quand les difficultés
de l'entreprise les portaient à abandonner la partie. On
renonça à cette pratique, en 1949, afin d'éviter que des
étudiants de culture française soient réduits à ne pouvoir
penser et s'exprimer qu'en anglais dans ces domaines
importants du savoir.

En 1927, des Oblats de langue anglaise ouvrirent le 29
collège Saint-Patrick. L'institution jouit évidemment
dès le début de la sympathie des catholiques anglophones
et un bon nombre de jeunes s'y dirigèrent pour y

poursuivre leurs études. Plusieurs autres cependant préférèrent venir à l'Université. Les relations entre les deux institutions furent souvent tendues au début. Le calme revint graduellement. Actuellement, le collège jouit d'une grande autonomie au sein de l'Université dont il est partie intégrante. L'administration de l'Université lui a confié la fondation d'une école de service social, maintenant renommée. L'enseignement et l'administration de cette école sont unilingues, tout s'y faisant uniquement en anglais¹.

5. Cinquième période : Le bilinguisme actuel.

La création d'une faculté de médecine, en 1945, allait soulever un problème épineux en matière de bilinguisme. Il fut apparent dès le début qu'on ne pourrait envisager d'instaurer immédiatement le régime des cours parallèles, à cause des charges financières impliquées. Pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, on choisit de donner les cours en anglais seulement, sauf le cours d'éthique médicale qui fut doublé². L'administration de la faculté était rigoureusement bilingue.

Ce choix ne fut pas bien accueilli par tous. Il provoqua des inquiétudes dans certains groupes canadiens-français. Les suspicions s'étendirent à toute l'Université qui fut passée au crible. On l'accusa d'être devenue un centre d'anglicisation pour les jeunes Canadiens français. Inquiétudes, suspicions et accusations éclatèrent au grand jour, surtout dans une série d'articles publiés dans le journal Le Devoir de Montréal, les 2, 3, 4, 5 et 6

1 L'Université s'est réservé le droit d'ouvrir une école bilingue.

2 D'autres cours mineurs, comme la psychologie, furent également doublés, au moins au début.

novembre 1948, par Pierre Vigeant. Ces cinq articles marquèrent le début d'une controverse. Pendant deux ans, Vigeant revint périodiquement à la charge, dénonçant tout ce qui lui paraissait être des indices d'une volonté d'anglicisation. D'autres journalistes du Devoir, diverses associations canadiennes-françaises suivirent son exemple. L'Université trouva des défenseurs¹.

Cette période de notre existence est encore trop 32
récente pour qu'on tente d'écrire son histoire avec plus de détails. Nous ne voulons pas entreprendre ici l'apologie ni même la défense des solutions adoptées. Les formules de compromis acceptées alors restent encore en usage; l'idéal du parallélisme n'est pas abandonné et il est mis en pratique partout où il se révèle possible.

La fondation de la Faculté des Sciences pures et 33
appliquées en 1953 se fit dans les mêmes conditions provisoires, en ce qui a trait à la langue d'enseignement mais ne provoqua aucune réaction défavorable. Depuis 1962, il a été possible d'y introduire partiellement le système du parallélisme pour certains cours généraux, ce qu'on fit immédiatement, même si ce changement augmentait le travail de quelques professeurs bilingues et exigeait des déboursés supplémentaires.

La poussée récente des mouvements indépendantistes 34
québécois a provoqué, de temps à autre, la mise en question du rôle de l'Université d'Ottawa; quelques-uns l'ont attaquée, mais on a surtout voulu illustrer par son exemple la futilité de toute tentative de bilinguisme, condamnée, dit-on, à tourner en instrument d'anglicisation des Canadiens français. Ces mouvements ont également

1 Le nombre de nos étudiants canadiens-français n'a subi aucune diminution à la suite de ces attaques, au contraire son accroissement continua au rythme normal.

contribué à provoquer quelques frictions au sein du corps étudiant. Ces incidents, peu nombreux et d'importance mineure, constituent une nouveauté dans un milieu où on pourrait les croire fréquents. L'harmonie, la bonne entente et une émulation féconde ont toujours marqué les rapports entre les deux groupes ethniques.

6. Associations étudiantes et organisations parascolaires.

Des formes d'activité parascolaire, théâtre, clubs 35
oratoires, etc., ont vu le jour très tôt au sein de
l'Université. Les premiers témoignages conservés à leur
sujet révèlent qu'on y manifesta, dès le début, un souci
réel de bilinguisme. Dès 1857, on présentait, durant la
même soirée semble-t-il, Les Fourberies de Scapin et
William Tell. Une société oratoire et dramatique, fondée
certainement avant 1883, se composait de deux sections
distinctes, française et anglaise, ayant le même direc-
teur et le même régisseur, mais avec chacune son conseil
propre. En 1883, les deux sections se divisèrent et
devinrent The English Debating Society et la Société des
Discussions Françaises du Collège d'Ottawa (appelée de
fait La Société des Débats français). Ces deux sociétés
organisaient parallèlement des joutes oratoires et des
présentations théâtrales. En 1953, The Drama Guild et
La Société dramatique furent fondées et prirent charge
des organisations dramatiques.

L'Association générale des Etudiants de l'Univer- 36
sité d'Ottawa a été le fruit d'une lente évolution. En
1934-35 on fonda à l'Université un conseil local bilingue
de la Fédération des Etudiants des Universités canadiennes.
Ce conseil devint en 1936-37 Le Conseil des Etudiants,
en 1943-44 La Fédération des Etudiants de l'Université
d'Ottawa et, l'an dernier, L'Association générale. Ces

différents conseils étudiants ont toujours été bilingues, le bilinguisme étant même une condition d'éligibilité à la présidence et souvent à d'autres postes. Des mouvements d'opinion récents tendent à scinder L'Association générale en deux sections autonomes, une française et une autre anglaise. Il est trop tôt pour en prévoir les résultats.

En 1932, La Société des Débats français fondait 37
La Rotonde; The English Debating Society commençait en 1942 la publication de The Fulcrum. Ces deux journaux étudiants paraissent encore parallèlement sous l'autorité de L'Association générale.

Les étudiants de chaque faculté et école sont unis 38
en associations particulières, le bilinguisme de chacune étant marqué par la composition du groupe; certaines d'entre elles sont unilingues, françaises ou anglaises, d'autres bilingues à des degrés divers. Il en va de même de plusieurs organisations d'activité parascolaire.

7. L'Association des Professeurs de l'Université d'Ottawa.

L'Association des Professeurs a été fondée en 1957; 39
elle réunit en une seule société les professeurs des deux groupes ethniques. Le français et l'anglais y sont langues officielles d'après la constitution. La pratique du bilinguisme y est assez réduite de fait et varie selon les personnes qui la dirigent. Un président canadien-français est automatiquement en meilleure position pour l'intensifier. Les communications écrites sont habituellement rédigées dans les deux langues, grâce au travail de traduction accepté par un membre bilingue. Il est souvent plus expédient de s'exprimer en anglais au cours des réunions et c'est ce qui se produit le plus fréquemment, car toute intervention en langue française doit être

traduite en anglais ou risque de passer inaperçue.

L'anglais domine donc de fait comme langue de communication tant au bureau de direction qu'à l'assemblée générale.

8. L'Association des Anciens de l'Université d'Ottawa.

L'Association des Anciens de l'Université d'Ottawa 40
fut fondée le 18 juin 1879. Les anciens élèves voulaient honorer le R.P. Henri Tabaret, o.m.i., recteur, à l'occasion de la remise solennelle d'un doctorat en théologie que le Saint-Siège venait de lui décerner. Sous sa forme initiale, cette société était bilingue; elle disparut en 1897. En 1923-24, on fonda La Société des anciens élèves de langue française de l'Université d'Ottawa¹.

L'Association des Anciens renaissait comme groupe bilingue en 1932 et vécut parallèlement avec la Société des anciens élèves de langue française pendant quelques années.

L'intégration des deux sociétés se fit graduellement; elle était pratiquement achevée en 1945. Sous sa forme actuelle, l'association groupe tous les anciens de l'Université; elle est composée de deux sections, française et anglaise, ayant chacune son conseil, placées toutes deux sous la direction suprême d'un conseil général bilingue². Les présidents des deux sections dirigent le conseil général à tour de rôle durant une période de dix-huit mois, au cours d'un terme d'office de trois ans. Les publications de l'association sont bilingues.

1 Ce groupe invitait toujours un ancien de langue anglaise à prendre la parole à chacune de ses réunions.

2 Elle compte au-delà de 13,000 membres au Canada et à l'étranger.

9. L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides provinciaux.

L'accueil réservé aux efforts faits par l'Université 41
en vue d'obtenir sa part des fonds publics n'est pas
étranger à l'histoire de notre bilinguisme et de notre
biculturalisme. Dès le début, les difficultés en ce
domaine surgirent du caractère catholique du Collège de
Bytown¹. C'est toujours cette même raison qu'on invoque
encore aujourd'hui pour nous refuser les secours dont
nous avons besoin. Il semblerait donc que nous sommes
en présence d'un problème de caractère religieux et non
culturel. Cependant, si on admet la notion de culture
proposée au début de notre mémoire, on voit bien qu'en
pratique cela revient au même². La religion fait partie
de la culture d'un groupe humain, elle marque ses insti-
tutions comme sa pensée. La tradition culturelle cana-
dienne-française est d'inspiration catholique et elle a
toujours voulu l'éducation confessionnelle³. Cette vi-
sion est réexaminée aujourd'hui au Canada français, mais
c'est là un dialogue où nul ne peut intervenir de l'exté-
rieur; il appartient aux seuls Canadiens français d'orien-
ter l'évolution de leur culture propre, les autres doivent
l'accepter selon cette définition. La province d'Ontario
a toujours refusé, elle refuse encore aujourd'hui, de
reconnaître la culture canadienne-française telle que
comprise par ceux qui en vivent.

1 L'histoire en est rapportée en détail dans G. CARRIERE, L'Uni-
versité d'Ottawa, p. 59-94.

2 V. plus haut, Note préliminaire, p. 4.

3 La même remarque vaut évidemment des Anglo-canadiens catholiques
dont la tradition rejoint celle des Canadiens français sur ce
point. Voir une très forte présentation de cette idée par André
Laurendeau, Le Devoir, 30 mai 1963 et 6 juin 1963, justement à
propos de l'Université d'Ottawa. Cf. Annexe IV, p. 105-107 et
113-114.

Notre situation actuelle se résume à ceci: les 42
subsidés fédéraux nous sont accordés à égalité de traitement avec toutes les universités canadiennes, mais le gouvernement provincial d'Ontario ne nous aide que pour les facultés de médecine et de science et cela en vertu d'un régime d'exception qui nous garde en marge de la loi¹.

Conclusion.

Telle est l'histoire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme à l'Université d'Ottawa. Ce dualisme nous en vivons et il nous ronge tout à la fois, mais il s'impose à nous de par le caractère de la patrie canadienne et de la population que nous voulons servir, nous y tenons car nous ne pourrions y renoncer sans modifier du tout au tout notre oeuvre universitaire. La poursuite de cet idéal a compliqué la vie interne à l'Université, elle nous a souvent exposés à bien des incompréhensions et elle nous a fait reléguer, en terre ontarienne, au rang d'institution exceptionnelle, obstinée dans un inexplicable refus de se conformer à un modèle standardisé, plus simple et plus commode. Notre histoire illustre bien le caractère paradoxal de la vie canadienne. Afin de garder l'Université bilingue, il a fallu en laisser l'administration à peu près exclusivement aux mains des Canadiens français et elle a senti peser lourdement sur elle l'étiquette de French school. D'autre part, elle

1 Ce régime d'exception a été justifié au début en faveur de la faculté de médecine, par le besoin urgent où se trouvait la province d'un plus grand nombre de médecins. La pénurie d'ingénieurs a été invoquée pour expliquer les secours à la faculté des sciences. L'explication donnée récemment par le Premier ministre John Robarts, à l'effet que ces deux facultés sont subventionnées parce que non confessionnelles, n'a jamais été reconnue par l'Université.

a été accusée de trahison quand elle n'a pu maintenir sans exception le régime exorbitant du parallélisme.

Il est pourtant un autre aspect de cette histoire 44
qui ne peut être passé sous silence. Nous en avons rapporté jusqu'à maintenant les faits saillants, les dates principales, nous l'avons écrite comme elle peut avoir été vue en surface, de l'extérieur. On ne saurait la réduire à ce récit. Si notre vie illustre bien le caractère paradoxal de la société canadienne, elle met également en relief les richesses humaines accessibles à ceux qui osent relever le défi lancé par ce paradoxe.

Bien des Franco-ontariens ont trouvé à l'Université 45
d'Ottawa l'occasion unique de poursuivre des études secondaires et supérieures dans leur langue maternelle, tout en améliorant leur connaissance de l'anglais. Pour eux la nécessité d'être bilingues ne se discute pas, elle s'impose comme un fait. (On pourrait sans doute en dire autant de bien d'autres secteurs de la population canadienne-française.) L'Université leur a permis d'y faire face. Plusieurs d'entre eux ont pu revenir à l'usage du français comme langue habituelle grâce à leur séjour à l'Université, alors que le milieu ontarien où ils avaient grandi était en train de les angliciser. Un certain nombre ont préféré il est vrai se diriger vers des institutions unilingues de Québec, soit à cause des dangers qu'ils trouvaient à une éducation bilingue, soit pour d'autres motifs.

D'autre part, un nombre toujours croissant de 46
jeunes Québécois sont venus à Ottawa, attirés par le caractère bilingue de l'Université, comme aussi par son programme d'étude. Plusieurs d'entre eux n'avaient jamais eu auparavant l'occasion de côtoyer des Anglo-canadiens. Comme bien d'autres, le désir de devenir bilingues les a

conduits à une prise de conscience du caractère bicultural de la patrie canadienne. Les membres de l'autre groupe ethnique ont cessé de leur apparaître comme perdus dans une masse anonyme, étiquetés sommairement d'une appellation collective simplificatrice: les Anglais; ils sont devenus pour eux des personnes, des êtres humains dont on peut se faire des amis.

Parmi les étudiants anglophones ayant fréquenté l'Université d'Ottawa, un nombre assez restreint sont devenus vraiment bilingues. L'Université a certainement moins insisté sur ce point auprès d'eux qu'elle ne l'a fait auprès des Canadiens français, sauf au début. Ils n'arrivaient pas chez nous animés du même désir de devenir bilingues et nous n'avons peut-être pas suffisamment suppléé à cette absence de motivation personnelle¹. Mais les jeunes Anglo-canadiens, comme leurs confrères canadiens-français, se sont éveillés chez nous au caractère biculturel de leur patrie. Nous avons déjà signalé l'absence à peu près totale de conflits entre les deux groupes au sein de notre population étudiante. Il faut aller plus loin et affirmer que l'expérience de la vie en commun a été pour tous la source d'un enrichissement inappréciable: une meilleure compréhension, une estime véritable entre les représentants des deux principaux éléments de la population canadienne.

La ligne générale de l'évolution de bien des jeunes venus chez nous est révélatrice. Plusieurs d'entre eux nous arrivent imbus des préventions et des préjugés caractéristiques des milieux purement canadiens-français ou anglo-canadiens. Les contacts humains, propres à la vie étudiante, les amènent progressivement à une

1 Nous reviendrons sur cette question dans la deuxième partie.

acceptation adulte des autres tels qu'ils sont, parfois seulement parce qu'ils voient bien qu'on ne les changera pas, plus souvent parce qu'ils ont découvert des mérites à l'autre manière d'être canadien.

Les mêmes effets se sont produits au sein du corps 49
professoral. Plusieurs de nos professeurs canadiens-français sont devenus meilleurs bilingues. Quelques-uns de nos professeurs anglo-canadiens également mais en nombre moins considérable. Les délibérations et discussions où se rencontrent des représentants des deux groupes se déroulent souvent à peu près exclusivement en anglais, par la force des choses. Les Canadiens français en sont souvent ennuyés; la majorité d'entre eux s'y prêtent pourtant d'assez bonne grâce. Car les professeurs comme les étudiants apprennent à accepter leurs collègues de l'autre groupe, à les apprécier, à reconnaître l'enrichissement apporté à la patrie canadienne par cette autre façon d'être canadien.

Nous ne tentons pas de convaincre la Commission que 50
tout cela se fait sans jamais de heurts. Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que les résultats obtenus, tout au long de l'histoire de l'Université, ont été bienfaisants pour ceux qui ont vécu cette histoire et pour tout le Canada.

DEUXIEME PARTIE : Réflexions sur une expérience.

L'expérience du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme à 51
l'Université d'Ottawa, décrite dans la première partie de
notre mémoire, peut conduire à des réflexions et à des
conclusions susceptibles d'éclairer le travail de la
Commission royale. Nous faisons donc suivre cette des-
cription d'un essai d'évaluation. Nous voulons tenter de
voir à quel point notre expérience est valable comme
expérience universitaire et aussi comme guide ou modèle
d'une expérience à l'échelle nationale. Nous l'étudierons
à ce point de vue sous trois aspects: elle fut une
expérience vécue, unilatérale et empirique. Nous dirons
ensuite quelles conclusions on peut en tirer.

1. Expérience vécue.

En affirmant que notre expérience fut vécue, nous 52
voulons souligner le fait que l'Université n'a pas été
constituée comme un cas type d'expérience organisée et
surveillée de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme. Bilin-
guisme et biculturalisme se sont imposés à nous, nous les
avons voulus et cultivés, mais l'Université a été fondée
comme institution d'enseignement secondaire, elle s'est
développée en vue de devenir un centre de haut savoir,
comme toutes les universités du monde. Cette destination
exprime vraiment sa fin première. L'organisation des
programmes, l'orientation de la recherche, le recrutement
des professeurs s'inspiraient de ce premier but avant
tout autre. Une deuxième fin a également exercé une in-
fluence considérable sur la vie de l'Université: elle a
été voulue comme institution catholique, afin de servir
les intérêts de la population catholique de la région
outaouaise, puis graduellement de tout le pays. Enfin

elle a certainement été destinée à servir et à promouvoir la cause du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme.

Ces trois finalités ont dû composer entre elles 53 dans des proportions fort variables tout au long de notre histoire. Tour à tour chacune d'elles exigeait que la poursuite des deux autres soit conditionnée par ses exigences particulières. Ainsi l'engagement d'un maître pouvait s'imposer au nom de la finalité universitaire, même si son unilinguisme faisait accroc au caractère bilingue de l'Université. En d'autres circonstances l'inverse se produisait et un professeur bilingue de moindre prestige était préféré. L'idéal eût évidemment été de n'engager que des bilingues qui fussent des maîtres incontestés. Le fait que notre expérience a été unilatérale ne l'a pas toujours permis.

2. Expérience unilatérale.

1) Bilinguisme.

L'Université d'Ottawa comme centre de haut savoir 54 a été le fruit de la collaboration de Canadiens de toute origine; comme institution bilingue elle a été à peu près exclusivement l'oeuvre de Canadiens français. Des Français et des Anglo-canadiens ont aidé efficacement à poursuivre cette expérience, mais leur petit nombre oblige à dire que les Canadiens français ont été pratiquement les seuls artisans de notre bilinguisme. Le groupe de nos administrateurs et de nos professeurs bilingues se recrutait à peu près exclusivement à des sources canadiennes-françaises; en règle générale "bilingue" a été chez nous synonyme de "canadien-français".

Comme cette équivalence se retrouvait à l'échelle 55 nationale, le recrutement de notre corps professoral était singulièrement difficile, nos possibilités de choix,

grandement réduites. La population canadienne-française n'est pas tellement nombreuse et son potentiel en universitaires n'est pas supérieur à celui des autres groupes humains. Quand nous y cherchions des professeurs bilingues, nous devions entrer en concurrence avec les universités, la fonction publique et l'industrie du Québec et souvent avec la fonction publique fédérale. Sauf dans ce dernier cas, nous étions automatiquement placés dans une position défavorable, car venir chez nous imposait un déménagement dans une province officiellement unilingue, où bien des Québécois se sentaient dépaysés, où le caractère unilingue de la capitale nationale les irritait; le système ontarien d'écoles primaires bilingues, qui n'ont d'ailleurs aucun statut juridique précis, effrayait ceux qui voulaient assurer à leurs enfants une formation première essentiellement française¹. Cette difficulté n'a pas été énorme tant que la majorité de nos professeurs a été formée de religieux oblates. L'accroissement considérable du nombre de laïcs l'a aggravée. Ce qu'on appelle actuellement "la révolution tranquille" du Québec n'a pas été pour nous faciliter la tâche. Dans tous les domaines, cette révolution a ouvert aux universitaires québécois des carrières prometteuses dans leur province natale. Quelques-uns des nôtres y sont retournés pour occuper des postes de commande et les avantages que nous pouvons offrir pèsent souvent assez peu quand nous tentons d'en attirer d'autres chez nous.

Ce caractère unilatéral de notre expérience du bilinguisme, en plus de la rendre difficile, la marquait de bien des façons. Ainsi notre bilinguisme était destiné de fait à servir surtout les intérêts canadiens-français.

56

1 La proximité de la ville de Hull nous aidait en ce domaine, car nos professeurs pouvaient y résider.

Le Collège de Bytown avait été fondé d'abord à l'intention des "Canadiens" de l'Outaouais. Cette vue s'est élargie par la suite, la population francophone de la région ne pouvant seule pourvoir l'institution en étudiants et en ressources. Durant la période de 1874 à 1900, la majorité de la population étudiante était de langue anglaise et le bilinguisme de l'enseignement en fut diminué. L'établissement du régime du "parallélisme" en 1900 fut exigé par les Canadiens français, pour répondre à leurs besoins à eux. Ils assuraient ainsi la permanence du bilinguisme à l'Université d'Ottawa mais ils réaffirmaient en même temps que ce bilinguisme leur était destiné. Leurs contradicteurs confirmaient cette idée par leur opposition même.

Cette destination première de notre bilinguisme 57
n'a jamais été unique, encore moins exclusive. L'Université a toujours offert aux jeunes Anglo-canadiens l'occasion d'apprendre le français, par son enseignement et surtout par le contact avec un milieu à forte influence canadienne-française¹. Mais notre préoccupation première dans la promotion du bilinguisme chez les étudiants a certainement été orientée surtout vers les Canadiens français. Quelques-uns de ceux qui ont le mieux exprimé l'idéal de l'Université, comme le R.P. Georges Simard, O.M.I., voyaient plus large et plus grand. Les raisons d'être de notre bilinguisme, ils les trouvaient dans une vision grandiose de l'Université au coeur de la patrie canadienne. Mais, dans la pratique quotidienne, les

1 Dès l'ouverture du Collège les étudiants étaient à moitié de langue française et à moitié de langue anglaise. Cette influence du milieu est pourtant atténuée par un fait fréquent chez nous comme ailleurs au Canada: dans un groupe composé de représentants des deux nationalités, on parle plus souvent anglais que français.

impératifs immédiats surgissaient la plupart du temps de la nécessité du bilinguisme pour les Canadiens français.

En plus d'être destiné surtout aux Canadiens français, notre bilinguisme a été d'inspiration canadienne-française, il a été conçu et organisé selon la mentalité canadienne-française. A cause de cela, il avait parfois tendance à devenir militant. Pour les Canadiens français le bilinguisme était une arme, il s'intégrait presque toujours à la mystique de la survivance. Minorité au sein du pays canadien et du continent nord-américain, les Canadiens français devaient résister aux influences assimilatrices, concertées ou automatiques, mais il leur fallait s'accommoder, bon gré mal gré, d'un voisinage écrasant. Le bilinguisme était pour eux, surtout hors du Québec, une nécessité vitale en même temps qu'un danger. Ils le transformèrent souvent en moyen d'établir et d'affirmer leur identité propre et leur supériorité face à l'anglophone unilingue. Tout en apprenant l'anglais, ils s'efforçaient de faire reconnaître le bilinguisme comme élément de compétence universelle au Canada¹. 58

Cette allure militante était moins présente à l'Université d'Ottawa que dans bien d'autres milieux canadiens-français. L'institution s'adressait aux deux secteurs de la population canadienne et ne pouvait se payer le luxe de heurter les sentiments de l'un ni de l'autre. Le contact quotidien avec des Anglo-canadiens au service d'une oeuvre commune inspire aussi une attitude plus compréhensive. Il serait pourtant inexact de nier que notre bilinguisme ait jamais été teinté d'agressivité. Aux 59

1 Par exemple, l'homme le plus habile à diriger des débats parlementaires n'est pas candidat compétent à la présidence de la Chambre des Communes du parlement fédéral s'il n'est pas bilingue.

moments de crises nationales ou de difficultés internes, cette teinte s'accroissait et notre bilinguisme a connu des périodes militantes, au moins chez quelques-uns de ses théoriciens. On peut signaler surtout la période allant de 1900 à 1935. Des chefs nationalistes canadiens-français nous saluaient alors comme "le premier bastion de la pensée catholique et française dans l'Ontario" (Lionel Groulx).

Il se peut même que l'unilatéralisme de notre bilinguisme ait eu tendance à se conserver. Il aurait peut-être été en cela dans la ligne du bilinguisme canadien-français. Les Canadiens français forment la grande majorité des Canadiens bilingues, ils en sont fiers et on peut difficilement leur reprocher cette fierté, même s'ils exagèrent parfois en l'affichant. D'autre part ils se plaignent de ce que la majorité des Anglo-canadiens ignorent le français, ce qui est un fait indéniable. La Commission royale tentera certainement de trouver les causes de ce fait. Il en est de fort apparentes, il peut s'en trouver de plus subtiles¹. Dans la mesure où le bilinguisme est une arme pour les Canadiens français, un Anglo-canadien bilingue devient souvent pour eux un dangereux concurrent: il limite d'autant leur sentiment de supériorité et il s'assure une compétence égale à la leur. On procéderait probablement de façon trop sommaire si on ignorait complètement ce facteur en jugeant des efforts dépensés par les Canadiens français pour travailler au développement du bilinguisme chez leurs compatriotes anglophones. Il faut se demander sérieusement si les conjonctures historiques n'ont pas lentement convaincu

1 Ces causes apparentes sont connues de tous: système d'éducation, milieu social, sentiment de supériorité, manque d'intérêt pratique.

les Canadiens français, du moins de façon implicite, que le bilinguisme est pour eux un monopole.

Nous sommes ici évidemment en pleine hypothèse quand 61
il s'agit du problème du bilinguisme canadien dans son ensemble et cette hypothèse frôle le procès d'intention. Il serait certainement trop simple d'expliquer uniquement par ce facteur le fait que le bilinguisme de l'Université d'Ottawa, maintenu à peu près exclusivement par des Canadiens français, ait servi surtout les Canadiens français. Ce fait s'explique par bien d'autres raisons beaucoup plus importantes, mais nous n'osons pas affirmer que cette vue du bilinguisme comme monopole canadien-français ait été sans influence sur la permanence du caractère unilatéral de notre expérience. Elle a pu contribuer à nous convaincre très rapidement que les étudiants anglo-canadiens ne voulaient pas apprendre le français, que ce serait peine perdue de s'obstiner à les y inviter. Cette conviction, jointe au caractère parfois militant de notre bilinguisme, peut expliquer au moins en partie pourquoi assez peu de nos étudiants anglophones sont devenus vraiment bilingues¹.

Un autre aspect du caractère unilatéral de notre 62
expérience du bilinguisme ne peut être passé sous silence. Seuls les Canadiens français en ont profité vraiment, mais ils ont aussi été les seuls exposés à ses dangers et inconvénients, surtout dans les secteurs où nous n'avons pas réussi à maintenir le régime du "parallélisme". Nous ne croyons pas qu'un seul Canadien français ait été "anglicisé" chez nous, au sens où son séjour à l'Université l'aurait fait passer à la culture anglo-canadienne ou à

1 Le fait que l'invitation à apprendre le français venait surtout de Canadiens français explique également ce phénomène.

l'usage habituel de la langue anglaise¹. Mais l'obligation de suivre des cours en anglais seulement, dans l'une ou l'autre branche du savoir, a certainement placé des Canadiens français dans la situation assez embarrassante de ne pouvoir pas s'exprimer facilement dans leur langue maternelle, quand ils abordent des questions touchant leur spécialisation. A cause de l'empirisme de notre expérience, il n'est pas possible de fournir des précisions statistiques en cette matière. Il semble indiscutable que nous devons en admettre le fait.

De plus, nos professeurs bilingues, canadiens- 63
français pour la plupart, sauf de très remarquables cas d'exception, ont souvent dû enseigner dans les deux langues ou surtout en anglais dans certaines facultés. Les deux situations constituent des handicaps supplémentaires dans l'exercice d'une profession déjà très exigeante. Aussi plusieurs d'entre eux admettent qu'ils en viennent à s'exprimer moins librement en français dans le domaine de leur spécialité, quand ils y travaillent à peu près seulement en anglais.

Notre expérience du bilinguisme a donc été unilatérale. 64
Elle a été en cela une réplique fidèle de l'expérience canadienne dans tout le pays. Personne chez nous ne considère ce fait comme un pur titre de gloire. Dans le climat canadien, cela était inévitable dans une large mesure.

1 Nous avons dit que l'inverse s'était produit dans le cas de plusieurs Franco-ontariens.

2) Biculturalisme.

1- Les cadres.

Notre expérience du biculturalisme a été moins 65
unilatérale, si on considère l'Université dans l'ensemble
de sa réalité humaine et non seulement dans ses cadres
administratifs. A l'échelon supérieur (Conseil d'Admi-
nistration), ces cadres sont constitués exclusivement par
des Canadiens français, au moins depuis 1915. Le départ
des Oblats de langue anglaise rendait cet exclusivisme
inévitables, vu que le Conseil est composé uniquement de
religieux oblats. Le Sénat académique a souvent compté
par le passé quelques membres anglophones et leur nombre
y augmente même si la grande majorité y demeure encore
canadienne-française. Les doyens de facultés sont prati-
quement tous canadiens-français (sauf un) de même que les
directeurs d'écoles. La difficulté à trouver des candi-
dats bilingues parmi les Anglo-canadiens explique en
grande partie ce phénomène.

A l'intérieur des facultés, plusieurs chefs de départ- 66
tements sont anglo-canadiens ou néo-canadiens, surtout aux
facultés de sciences et de médecine. La composition des
conseils de facultés et d'écoles varie donc d'une faculté
à l'autre; l'élément anglo-canadien y est représenté
partout, dans des proportions variables.

Le caractère biculturel de l'Université est donc 67
apparent dans ses cadres administratifs même si l'élément
canadien-français y prédomine et si l'administration supé-
rieure est aux mains des Canadiens français.

2- Les programmes.

Il l'est encore davantage si on s'arrête aux pro- 68
grammes d'étude. Nos administrateurs n'ont jamais tenté
d'imposer la culture canadienne-française aux étudiants

anglo-canadiens, ils n'ont jamais voulu non plus exposer les Canadiens français à la seule culture canadienne-française. Pour illustrer ce point, nous diviserons notre histoire en deux parties: des débuts à 1945 et de 1945 à nos jours.

Des débuts à 1945.

Le Collège de Bytown fut fondé selon le type des 69 collèges classiques du Bas-Canada, les programmes de l'Assomption et de Joliette ayant surtout servi de guides. L'obtention d'une charte universitaire en 1866 distinguait déjà notre institution de ses modèles, car un collège classique ne peut prétendre au titre d'université. La réforme de 1874 marqua un tournant important dans notre orientation. Notre programme s'éloignait décidément du modèle québécois. Il faisait une plus large part à l'étude des sciences, abordée plus tôt au cours des années d'études; l'humanisme que nous visions désormais était moins exclusivement littéraire. Cette réforme s'inspirait d'un souci pratique: elle tendait à préparer les étudiants à des carrières professionnelles dans le monde du commerce et de la technique; elle s'inspirait également d'une estime réelle pour les valeurs culturelles contenues dans les disciplines scientifiques. Ces deux points de vue étant assez caractéristiques de la culture anglo-canadienne, on voit que le milieu ontarien agissait sur la mentalité des Canadiens français par ses exigences pratiques et par ses tendances intellectuelles¹. Cette influence alla

1 Il est amusant de voir avec quelles précautions le P. Simard admet cette parenté et la justifie par une citation de saint Augustin, approuvant qu'on s'intéresse aux belles lettres même si elles ont été cultivées par les... païens! En 1928, tout emprunt à la culture anglo-canadienne prenait l'allure d'une trahison. Georges SIMARD, O.M.I., Un centenaire. Le Père Tabaret, O.M.I. et son oeuvre d'éducation, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1928, p. 16-17.

s'élargissant. Notre cours des Arts ressembla de moins en moins au cours des collèges classiques traditionnels: système des cours au choix, scission de plus en plus marquée des études en deux sections de quatre années chacune, correspondant au High School et au College anglo-canadiens, enseignement des sciences tout au long du cours et enseignement des lettres durant les deux dernières années, etc. Ces orientations nous ont parfois exposés aux accusations de déviationnisme de la part de certains Québécois¹.

De 1945 à nos jours.

La fondation de la Faculté de Médecine en 1945 a marqué un autre tournant important. La tradition canadienne-française a pendant longtemps fait du B.A. obtenu à la fin du cours classique, une condition d'admission à toutes les facultés universitaires, les études classiques étant la propédeutique obligatoire de toutes les études supérieures. Nous allions nous orienter dans un autre sens et admettre, au moins pour les étudiants anglophones, une préparation plus scientifique que littéraire et philosophique². De plus, l'entrée d'anglo-canadiens et de néo-canadiens dans le corps professoral de cette faculté rendait impossible que l'orientation de l'enseignement, de l'étude et de la recherche y fût inspirée par la seule vision canadienne-française. Ce second phénomène s'est reproduit lors de la fondation de la faculté des sciences

1 Le P. Simard nous défendait contre ces accusations en 1923. Georges SIMARD, O.M.I., Tradition et évolution dans l'enseignement classique, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1923, 33 p.

2 Des changements dans le même sens s'amorçaient, à peu près en même temps, dans les universités québécoises. Ces institutions évoluent actuellement selon une ligne que nous avons suivie à Ottawa depuis longtemps. Les exigences de leur situation en Amérique du Nord rendaient cette échéance inévitable.

pures et appliquées. A la faculté de Droit, le B.A. est une condition d'admission à la section de droit civil, conformément aux exigences du Barreau de la province de Québec, il ne l'est pas à la section de Common Law où on suit la tradition anglo-canadienne. Cette faculté offre un exemple intéressant de biculturalisme. L'Université fondait en 1953, grâce à la collaboration du barreau et de la législature du Québec, une faculté de Droit civil. Une section de Common Law s'y ajoutait en 1957 pour compléter la faculté. Les deux sections jouissent d'une parfaite autonomie quant à l'organisation des cours, aux méthodes de recherche et d'enseignement et quant à la langue, mais elles forment une seule faculté; fait assez exceptionnel mais entièrement conforme à l'esprit de l'Université. Leur collaboration a déjà produit des résultats appréciables dans le domaine des études en droit comparé.

Le maintien des cours de littérature et de philosophie aux premières années des études scientifiques marque l'influence d'une vision canadienne-française; d'autre part la multiplication des baccalauréats spécialisés correspond plutôt à une vision anglo-canadienne. L'introduction récente d'un cours de licence ès lettres à la faculté des Arts exprime un retour à l'inspiration française devant la vogue des cours de maîtrise, populaires en milieux anglo-saxons¹.

Nos programmes d'étude traduisent donc un biculturalisme réel. Notre évolution nous a conduits de l'état

1 En France, on étudie actuellement la possibilité d'organiser des cours de maîtrise, afin de favoriser les échanges d'étudiants avec les pays anglo-saxons. Le Monde, édition hebdomadaire, n° 830 (10-16 septembre), Paris, 1964, p. 6. Cette maîtrise ne sera pas le décalque d'une maîtrise anglo-saxonne et notre licence n'est pas la réplique de la licence française. Il y a pourtant dans les deux cas emprunt d'une culture à l'autre.

initial de collège classique à notre situation actuelle d'université de type plutôt anglo-canadien. Pour nous le mot université ne désigne pas seulement l'ensemble des écoles professionnelles de l'ancienne tradition québécoise, ni le complexe actuel du Québec, lui-même en pleine évolution; nos cadres ressemblent beaucoup plus à ceux des universités anglophones nord-américaines. Sous les dehors de cette organisation, il est facile de reconnaître une forte inspiration canadienne-française, surtout dans les facultés et écoles consacrées aux disciplines dites humanistes, mais il est bien clair que chez nous, "canadien-français" n'est pas synonyme de "québécois". Nous avons tenté d'intégrer dans une institution biculturelle canadienne située en Ontario, les meilleurs éléments des deux systèmes. Nous croyons avoir réussi de façon satisfaisante.

L'Université d'Ottawa a donc vécu une véritable expérience du biculturalisme. C'était inévitable du fait qu'elle se voulait bilingue et ouverte aux étudiants anglo-canadiens. Par leur présence même, ces étudiants assuraient en nos murs la coexistence des deux cultures et leur confrontation. L'augmentation du nombre de nos professeurs anglophones et l'accession de plusieurs d'entre eux à des postes de commande ont élargi le champ de l'influence qu'ils ont toujours exercée dans notre milieu.

73

Nous avons dit plus haut que notre expérience du bilinguisme était un décalque assez fidèle du bilinguisme canadien; il faut apprécier notre expérience du biculturalisme avec plus de nuances. D'une part, nous croyons avoir devancé l'ensemble du pays par l'ampleur de cette expérience que nous avons été seuls à tenter dans le domaine universitaire. D'autre part, la représentation

74

de l'élément ^{non} catholique de la population anglo-canadienne a toujours été assez limitée, tant chez nos étudiants que chez nos professeurs et nos administrateurs, même si des changements sensibles se sont produits à ce point de vue durant les dernières années¹. Depuis 1945 plusieurs non-catholiques occupent des postes importants dans notre hiérarchie universitaire, mais il ne s'en trouve aucun au Conseil d'Administration, aucun non plus n'a encore été doyen d'une faculté ou directeur d'une école. Bien sûr, personne n'est inquiété dans sa foi religieuse, mais l'Université, bien que pluraliste de fait, reste d'inspiration catholique et, des non-catholiques qu'elle s'agrège, professeurs ou étudiants, elle attend qu'ils acceptent son caractère confessionnel et le respectent. Dans la mesure où les convictions religieuses font partie de la culture, il faut dire que les Anglo-canadiens sont représentés parmi nous surtout par un groupe minoritaire.

L'Université a donc vécu une expérience du biculturalisme extrêmement riche et intéressante, mais cette expérience reste limitée. Nous n'exprimons en cela aucun regret, nous ne pensons pas qu'on puisse y trouver l'aveu d'un échec; nous tâchons d'évaluer notre expérience. Ces limites de notre biculturalisme ont bien des causes, dont la volonté de poursuivre notre existence comme institution bilingue.

Enfin notre expérience du biculturalisme a été unilatérale à un autre point de vue. Nous avons décrit dans la première partie la situation financière faite à l'Université en Ontario et nous avons dit en quel sens cette situation intéresse la culture et le biculturalisme. On refuse, à cause de notre affiliation confessionnelle, de

1 Cf. Annexe II, p. 84-87.

nous aider à la mesure de notre croissance, de l'excellence qu'on nous reconnaît, voire à la mesure de ce qu'on exige de nous. Ce refus, comme l'histoire des luttes scolaires dans bien des provinces à majorité anglo-canadienne, suggère une conclusion: le biculturalisme authentique, celui qui veut laisser à chacune des deux cultures canadiennes son visage propre, se pratique uniquement au Québec. Les Canadiens français qui ont tenté de le transplanter ailleurs se sont heurtés à une fin de non-recevoir. On ne nous ménage pas les louanges. Le premier ministre actuel, l'honorable John Robarts, proclamait le 15 juin 1963 à Québec:

Notre histoire et notre progrès depuis Champlain, Frontenac et de LaSalle, ont été profondément influencés et enrichis par les fils et les filles du Canada français dont beaucoup ont apporté leur marque et ajouté de l'éclat à la vie académique, culturelle et spirituelle de l'Ontario.

Ce fait, parmi tant d'autres, explique pourquoi nous nous sommes, comme vous, réjouis de la création d'une commission royale sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. L'intérêt de la population de l'Ontario pour un bon enseignement du français n'a jamais été si grand. La population de l'Ontario est fière de ses institutions bilingues, telles que l'Université d'Ottawa et l'Université Laurentienne de Sudbury. Elle est fière de notre Ecole Normale bilingue et de nos 400 commissions scolaires bilingues. Ces institutions sont les moyens par lesquels nous établirons des contacts plus étroits et des moyens de communication qui nous permettront de vraiment nous connaître et nous comprendre¹.

A l'Assemblée législative de Toronto, il tenait les propos 77
suivants à propos de l'aide à l'Université:

Perhaps I should point out once again that traditionally in this province we have not, over the whole history of the universities in the province, supported with provincial funds denominational universities².

1 Faisons tout notre possible pour nous unir et ne faisons rien pour nous désunir. Allocution de l'honorable John Robarts [...] Château Frontenac, Québec, le 15 juin 1963, p. 1. On notera que l'enseignement du français auquel le premier ministre semble penser est vraisemblablement destiné aux Anglo-canadiens. Il n'est pas fait mention de l'enseignement en français dont les Franco-ontariens ont besoin.

2 "Legislature of Ontario Debates", No. 83, Thursday April 30, 1964. Evening Session, Toronto, The Queens Printer, 1964, p. 2680.

Il signalait alors que l'Université d'Ottawa ne fait l'objet d'aucun traitement d'exception et il concluait en ces termes: "But that is the policy of the government and that has been the policy of successive governments for many, many years¹." On se réjouit de l'apport fourni par les fils et les filles du Canada français à l'éclat de "la vie académique, culturelle et spirituelle de l'Ontario" mais on leur en laisse porter tout le prix, s'ils refusent d'altérer leur contribution dans l'un de ses traits les plus caractéristiques. On justifie cette politique en disant qu'elle est fort ancienne dans la province.

78

Le T.R.P. Henri Légaré, o.m.i., alors Recteur de l'Université, proposait, lors de la collation des grades du 26 mai 1963, de distinguer entre coutume, habitude et tradition. Il faisait voir comment il faut parfois modifier des coutumes, même anciennes, afin de sauver des traditions. Il suggérait que la tradition du fair play britannique est menacée en Ontario par des habitudes législatives connexes à des climats historiques périmés². La province est justement en frais de reviser plusieurs de ses coutumes et habitudes afin de voir si elles concordent avec la tradition du respect des droits de l'homme. Le mandat de la commission McRuer lui enjoint de mettre en question la validité de toute coutume, même fort ancienne, même appuyée sur des textes législatifs, afin de faire disparaître toute trace de discrimination dans la province. L'Université d'Ottawa espère que cette initiative provoquera un examen sérieux des coutumes dont elle se trouve victime. Un changement de politique en ce

79

1 Ibid.

2 On trouvera le texte de ce discours et celui de certains commentateurs qu'il a provoqués dans les journaux de Toronto et de Montréal, à l'Annexe IV du présent mémoire, p. 94-114.

domaine nous aiderait immensément à poursuivre notre expérience du biculturalisme de façon moins unilatérale et avec plus de chance de réussir.

3. Expérience empirique.

Enfin nous disons que notre expérience du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme a été empirique. Placés dans une situation où nous devons et voulions vivre cette expérience, nous aurions pu faire servir les ressources d'un milieu universitaire à l'organiser rationnellement, scientifiquement, même si elle n'était pas notre première raison d'être. En 1935, le R.P. Georges Simard, o.m.i., voyait dans l'accomplissement de cette tâche le trait caractéristique de notre physionomie parmi les autres universités canadiennes. Il appuyait sa thèse surtout sur notre situation au sein de la capitale:

Pour ce qui est d'Ottawa, cité gouvernementale, capitale d'un état bilingue, biethnique et fédératif, les problèmes nationaux, les sciences juridiques et politiques seront pour longtemps de son ressort immédiat. [...]

Or personne n'en doute: nous sommes à un tournant très grave de notre histoire. Manifestement les cadres où notre enfance s'est complue jusqu'ici cèdent aux inquiétudes d'une adolescence tardive. Des idées vagues ou maintenant débordées par leur contenu, des solutions trop étroites pour des situations agrandies nous incitent à un grand effort de pensée. Reviser nos définitions du patriotisme canadien, du bilinguisme canadien, du fédéralisme canadien; rendre plus habitable l'édifice de notre Etat fédératif; dans notre politique percer des ouvertures du côté de l'internationalisme des temps actuels [...]

Eh quoi! nous ne préciserions pas ce que doivent être dans notre pays le bilinguisme des élites, celui de nos officiers fédéraux, celui des citoyens de l'Ontario et du Québec? Nous omettrions de savoir au juste s'il peut exister un canadianisme de bon aloi, dont la formule, façonnée par l'histoire, contiendrait avec l'idéal nécessaire à toute patrie, le particularisme français et le particularisme anglais, ne sacrifiant rien, ne lésant personne, offrant, par cela même, à deux nationalités égales la possibilité de collaborer ensemble à la grandeur et à la prospérité du Canada?¹

1 G. SIMARD, O.M.I., Les Universités dans l'Eglise, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1935, p. 27. Le Père Simard a travaillé à résoudre ces problèmes, v.g. Georges SIMARD, O.M.I., Principes et faits en histoire. Etat idéal et Etat canadien. Et Séparatisme, dans Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, t. 7 (1937), p. 261-287.

Nous n'avons pas réalisé ce programme, nous avons 81
continué d'être bilingues au meilleur de notre connaissance, mais aussi au gré des événements. Nous tâchions de trouver, au fur et à mesure, les solutions les meilleures aux problèmes de notre bilinguisme et de notre biculturalisme à nous. Nous avons aussi collaboré au travail de réflexion collective sur ces problèmes à l'échelle nationale, dans la mesure où un tel travail s'accomplissait. Mais dans l'ensemble notre expérience est demeurée très empirique.

1) Raisons de cet empirisme.

Il y a à cela de très bonnes raisons, dont la principale se trouve dans les exigences de la finalité première d'une institution comme la nôtre, la finalité universitaire. 82
Essayer d'être une université digne de ce nom a accaparé toutes nos énergies et toutes nos ressources. L'Université, surtout depuis 1945, ne pouvait se replier sur elle-même, repenser ses conditions d'existence, elle devait grandir et se développer. C'est du moins ce que ses dirigeants ont compris. Bien des problèmes, dont ceux du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, recevaient des solutions improvisées, qui semblaient suffire aux exigences immédiates de la croissance. Ils n'ont jamais fait l'objet d'études d'ensemble de quelque envergure, menées avec la rigueur, la patience, les ressources financières et humaines exigées par la recherche scientifique de qualité universitaire. Ces études étaient toujours retardées à des temps plus favorables qui ne venaient jamais. Quelques travaux particuliers font exception, ils ont été faits surtout à notre Ecole de Psychologie et d'Education. Aux questions proposées par le Père Simard, les exigences de la vie et notre pauvreté nous ont réduits à fournir bien peu de réponses.

Une autre raison explique aussi cet empirisme, 83
l'attitude générale du pays tout entier. Le Canada n'a pas encore défini en quel sens il se voit bilingue et biculturel, encore moins par quels moyens il veut arriver à l'être. Il n'est même pas tout à fait évident que le pays se veuille bilingue et biculturel. La thèse canadienne-française a été souvent exposée; malgré des variantes parmi ses tenants on pouvait, jusqu'à une date récente, en trouver des expressions assez concordantes. La poussée de l'indépendantisme a passablement ébranlé cette unité. Mais cette thèse, d'inspiration surtout historique, laissait encore bien des points à l'empirisme. Le Canada anglais, fort à l'aise en climat pragmatique, s'est contenté de réagir, assez faiblement d'ailleurs, aux poussées les plus violentes du nationalisme canadien-français; ainsi on concédait la monnaie bilingue puis les chèques bilingues. Tout cela venait par bribes, et provoquait dans l'autre camp une réaction de désenchantement: trop peu, trop tard. Les préoccupations dans ce domaine étaient surtout le fait des Canadiens français et leur influence sur les pouvoirs publics n'avait jamais réussi, avant la création de la Commission royale, à provoquer une étude sérieuse du problème dans son ensemble, même si d'autres commissions s'étaient arrêtées à l'un ou l'autre de ses aspects¹.

Le pays a été absorbé par d'autres tâches: politique 84 nationale et internationale, économie, défense, etc. Les Canadiens ont vécu tous ensemble, de façon fort empirique, une expérience du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, sans vraiment consacrer à cet aspect de leur vie commune, une attention réfléchie qui puisse se comparer au soin accordé

1 On peut citer, par exemple, la commission Massey-Lévesque sur l'avancement des arts, lettres et sciences au Canada.

aux problèmes de défense, de développement industriel, de commerce, ni même à l'attention apportée aux questions concernant les arts et la culture, pourtant solidaires d'une vision du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme. L'empirisme, aidé de l'opportunisme politique, a provoqué quelques solutions assez heureuses, celle de Radio-Canada par exemple, mais le Canada s'interroge sur sa physionomie propre comme pays bilingue et biculturel; c'est peut-être pourquoi certaines initiatives de Radio-Canada, suscitées par les idées plus définies dont s'inspire la Société, ont provoqué des controverses regrettables¹.

Cette atmosphère générale d'empirisme et ses conséquences ont influencé l'Université d'Ottawa. Elles ont également agi sur toutes les autres universités canadiennes, absorbées comme nous par leur tâche universitaire et moins immédiatement aux prises avec le problème. Les études de qualité vraiment universitaire sont encore bien rares en ce domaine. 85

La création de la Commission royale consacre l'abandon de l'empirisme, enfin reconnu comme totalement insuffisant pour répondre à l'inquiétude générale provoquée par la recrudescence des nationalismes extrémistes, anglais et français. L'histoire dira si la Commission doit son existence à une simple réaction de crainte. On est fondé à croire que le pays est aux prises avec une véritable crise de conscience et veut la résoudre par un recours rationnel aux ressources de réflexion et de recherche scientifique, en même temps qu'au sentiment d'appartenance réelle à une collectivité canadienne façonnée par l'histoire. 86

1 Qu'on pense à l'opposition soulevée par l'introduction de la radiodiffusion française à Toronto.

A l'Université, nous nous interrogeons plus que 87
jamais sur le sens de notre identité propre comme institution bilingue et biculturelle. L'empirisme apparaît de plus en plus inapte à nous fournir des solutions valables. Les impératifs de notre finalité première demeurent pourtant aussi forts et notre pauvreté n'a pas encore été soulagée.

2) Conséquences de l'empirisme.

L'empirisme dont nous faisons l'aveu sans nulle 88
hésitation, n'a pas empêché notre expérience d'être honnête. Cette expérience a été inspirée par l'opportunisme et la bonne volonté. Nous avons été bilingues parce qu'il nous fallait l'être pour répondre aux besoins de notre population étudiante. Mais nous l'avons été également, nous le sommes de plus en plus, sous la poussée d'un désir authentique de collaborer à l'oeuvre commune du pays, à l'expression et à la formation d'un véritable esprit canadien. Mais notre expérience a été incomplète et non entièrement concluante. Notre passé nous guide évidemment dans notre vie actuelle, mais bien des essais plus systématiques devront encore être tentés pour compléter ses leçons. Nous pouvons certes servir de modèle au Canada dans une bonne mesure, au moment où il s'interroge sur son identité comme pays bilingue et biculturel. Mais nous sommes bien conscients du fait que notre seul exemple ne peut suffire à l'éclairer complètement.

4. Les conclusions de notre expérience.

1) L'Université bilingue.

Nous avons prouvé la possibilité d'une université bilingue au Canada. Il suffit qu'un groupe de Canadiens s'acharnent à l'établir et à la maintenir¹. Notre expérience a établi également que l'existence d'une telle institution sera toujours précaire si ce groupe demeure restreint et ne reçoit pas l'appui de la population et des pouvoirs publics, car le bilinguisme ajoute considérablement à la charge normale, déjà énorme, imposée par une oeuvre universitaire.

89

1- Nature du bilinguisme d'une université.

Notre expérience ne permet pas de définir avec précision la nature du bilinguisme d'une université. Le mot bilingue peut en effet recouvrir bien des réalités. Pour un individu, il peut signifier posséder également bien deux langues ou parler surtout l'une des deux comme langue première et l'autre comme langue seconde. Les mêmes possibilités s'offrent aux institutions. Les deux langues peuvent s'y trouver sur un pied d'égalité absolue, ou s'y conjuguer dans des proportions très diverses. Une université où l'enseignement serait donné en français seulement dans toutes les facultés sauf une, pourrait se dire bilingue. Une université où l'enseignement serait partout dispensé en anglais seulement, mais où toutes les fonctions administratives seraient exercées dans les deux langues, pourrait également se prétendre bilingue. Les formes possibles de composition des deux langues sont

90

1 La même conclusion vaut sans doute, aux mêmes conditions, pour d'autres secteurs de la vie canadienne et non seulement pour le domaine de l'éducation.

nombreuses; dans chaque cas, des critiques pourraient trouver le bilinguisme insuffisant, mal équilibré, mais si les deux langues sont réellement employées on ne saurait nier que l'université soit bilingue.

Nous ne pensons pas que notre expérience suffise à 91 déterminer laquelle de toutes les formules possibles est la meilleure, même pour nous. Notre bilinguisme a évolué, comme il apparaît par notre histoire. Nous avons assez bien réussi, tout au long de notre existence, à maintenir un bilinguisme d'égalité dans l'administration. Ce minimum semble essentiel à l'université bilingue. Dans l'enseignement, notre idéal a changé; depuis 1900 nous visons au parallélisme parfait, sans y parvenir, au moins depuis 1945. Il est permis de considérer cette formule comme une des plus satisfaisantes. Mais ici encore on peut entrevoir au moins deux modes possibles: le parallélisme assuré surtout par un groupe de professeurs bilingues ou le parallélisme maintenu par deux groupes de professeurs unilingues. L'exemple de l'Université de Louvain, qui a choisi cette deuxième forme de bilinguisme, serait très intéressant à analyser et nous ne doutons pas que la Commission s'y soit arrêtée. A Louvain, même si un professeur est bilingue, il ne peut enseigner à l'université que dans sa langue maternelle. Ce règlement vise surtout à assurer la présence de représentants du groupe wallon, où les bilingues sont beaucoup moins nombreux que dans le groupe flamand, bilinguisme et biculturalisme se révélant solidaires en Belgique comme au Canada¹.

1 La même pratique semble devenir loi là-bas pour les cadres administratifs, où on introduit le doublage des fonctions, indépendamment du bilinguisme des titulaires éventuels.

Les deux formes de parallélisme sont évidemment fort dispendieuses et exigent d'énormes ressources financières et humaines. Comme une université doit recruter son personnel au sein de la population, la nature de son bilinguisme ne peut se définir abstraitement. L'état actuel de la population canadienne, au point de vue du bilinguisme, impose des limites assez étroites au bilinguisme d'une institution de haut savoir. Il faudra prévoir un programme gradué, où les étapes de bilinguisme plus parfait suivront des étapes intermédiaires de bilinguisme à parts inégales. Plusieurs expériences de ce genre, poursuivies dans des milieux ethniques différents, permettraient d'arriver à des conclusions mieux établies sur la nature du bilinguisme universitaire idéal. Ces expériences conduiront probablement à la reconnaissance de plusieurs types désirables de bilinguisme, selon les milieux et la population étudiante visée.

92

2- Rôle d'une université bilingue au sein du Canada.

Nous avons cité plus haut un texte du fondateur du Collège de Bytown, Monseigneur Eugène Guigues, où le rôle de la nouvelle institution est décrit comme celui d'un lieu de rencontre entre des jeunes des deux groupes ethniques, et par conséquent comme un instrument de plus grande compréhension mutuelle¹. La même idée a souvent été reprise. Des gouverneurs généraux du Canada en particulier l'ont exprimée plus d'une fois: le marquis de Landsdowne en 1855, Lord Bessborough en 1931, le vicomte Alexander of Tunis en 1947². Il est inévitable qu'une

93

1 Page 10.

2 "... The university, by opening its doors indiscriminately to students of both races, by offering them a liberal education from which both have been able to derive so much advantage, is contributing to the obliteration of the last trace of rivalry which at the present time asserts itself only in the peaceful competitions of civil life,

université bilingue joue ce rôle, par la force même de la composition de sa population. Nos succès en ce domaine sont incontestables, même s'il est impossible de les exprimer en termes statistiques.

On peut voir d'une façon plus large le rôle d'une université bilingue au sein du Canada. Elle devrait être un centre d'étude et d'expérience dirigée en matière de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme. Mais, encore une fois, des résultats vraiment valables ne pourront être obtenus à moins que l'université bilingue soit l'oeuvre de tous les éléments de la population, que son bilinguisme soit apprécié et désiré par tous et qu'on lui fournisse les moyens supplémentaires nécessaires à une expérience vraiment universitaire, sans détriment pour son oeuvre essentielle.

94

competition in which each strive to excel the other in the discharge of his duty to our common country." Marquis de Landsdowne, Discours lors d'une réception à l'Université, 21 mai 1885. V. The Owl, oct. 1889, p. 50-51. (Le marquis est évidemment trop optimiste sur la situation, mais son opinion sur le rôle de l'Université garde toute sa valeur.)

"I realize that your University, founded by the first Bishop of Bytown in 1848, has many difficulties to contend with. But it has triumphed over them all, and now fills, and will long, I trust, continue to fill, an important place in the life of the Federal Capital.

"In your charming address, you say that bilingualism is its very cornerstone. I was particularly glad to hear that phrase, for, in my opinion, the importance of bilingualism to this country cannot be exaggerated. If the fellow-citizens of this great Dominion can discuss freely among themselves, in French or English, questions of vital importance to their country, the more will they appreciate one another's qualities, and the less will there be any danger of misunderstanding." Lord Bessborough, lors de la réception d'un doctorat honoris causa, The Ottawa Journal, 11 décembre 1931.

"... It is not only of interest but of great importance that you are the only bilingual University in the Dominion. There can be no better instrument for national unity than this — where the youth of two racial groups are brought together in work and play and get to know each other by learning each other's language." ...

"There is another aspect of your organization which I greatly admire and that is your tolerant and broad-minded approach toward those who wish to enter your doors and study under your roof. I think it is a fine and noble thing that students of other denominations can become graduates of this splendid Catholic institution. To my way of thinking, there is no argument but that is right." Vicomte Alexander of Tunis, lors d'une réception à l'Université, le 18 avril 1947. Archives de l'Université, Dossier Alexander of Tunis, 18-4-47.

2) Bilinguisme et biculturalisme au Canada.

Nous avons signalé déjà que notre expérience révèle 95
les liens étroits qui unissent le bilinguisme et le
biculturalisme. Il semble important de mettre ce point
bien en relief. Le problème intégral du bilinguisme ne
peut en effet être réduit à une simple question de langues.
On ne peut envisager comme seule solution à ce problème
des moyens plus efficaces d'enseigner l'anglais aux
Canadiens français et le français aux anglophones. Les
techniques les plus raffinées de la pédagogie ne peuvent
suffire à donner le désir de devenir bilingue, la généra-
lisation la plus étendue du bilinguisme individuel ne
pourrait à elle seule créer un véritable climat d'harmonie
nationale. La langue est en effet beaucoup plus qu'un
simple moyen de communication, elle est partie intégrante
de la culture¹. Le bilinguisme a toujours été objet de
conflit au Canada, parce que les raisons de le vouloir,
de s'y résigner, de le rejeter, de l'imposer aux autres
ont toujours été puisées dans l'atmosphère d'un conflit
de cultures. Devenir bilingue ou rester unilingue c'était
prendre parti dans le débat, exprimer une attitude à
l'égard de l'autre groupe ethnique et d'une vision du
pays tout entier². De même, on pouvait inciter les Cana-
diens de l'autre culture à devenir bilingues pour les
amener à accepter, de gré ou de force, une manière de
comprendre le Canada. On ne peut donc séparer les pro-
blèmes du bilinguisme de ceux du biculturalisme. Notre
histoire a prouvé qu'une institution bilingue dirigée par

1 V. plus haut, p. 4-5.

2 Nous pensons uniquement aux Canadiens ayant l'occasion de deve-
nir bilingues assez facilement. Il est encore des régions du
pays où l'unilinguisme est surtout l'effet inévitable de l'absence
des moyens d'apprendre l'autre langue.

des Canadiens français, même si son bilinguisme fait parfois à l'anglais une part plus large qu'au français, reste une French School aux yeux des Anglo-canadiens. L'inverse serait également vrai¹.

Nous avons déjà dénoncé l'optimisme qui fait traduire 96
Canadien français par French-speaking Canadian². Cette traduction pourrait bien trahir une illusion, celle des Canadiens-sans-trait-d'union (unhyphenated Canadians). Le concept idyllique de Canadiens distingués entre eux exclusivement par leur langue usuelle, mais unis dans une vision identique du Canada, ne correspond certainement pas à la réalité canadienne présente. Dans cette perspective, il serait évidemment beaucoup plus facile d'être Canadiens, il suffirait de propager le bilinguisme d'un océan à l'autre pour établir automatiquement l'harmonie.

Cette pacification par nivellement, même si elle 97
était possible, exigerait une rançon exorbitante, inacceptable. Il faudrait défigurer la patrie canadienne, effacer de son visage ses traits les plus caractéristiques. Il est certainement préférable de laisser à l'idéal commun l'essentiel de sa subtilité congénitale. L'histoire a voulu cette rencontre sur un même sol de deux des plus grandes cultures occidentales; l'idéal ne peut être de les édulcorer toutes les deux, par lassitude, pour les réduire aux seuls éléments inoffensifs qu'elles peuvent posséder en commun. Seule une confrontation virile et franche peut amener les deux secteurs de la population canadienne au biculturalisme vrai, celui qui veut conserver deux cultures, deux modes de vie, deux manières d'être

1 A cause de cela, les cours intensifs de français destinés aux fonctionnaires fédéraux anglophones, même s'ils réussissent à les rendre bilingues, ne régleront pas entièrement le problème intégral du bilinguisme. L'administration centrale restera "anglaise" pour les Canadiens français, tant qu'elle sera aux mains d'une majorité écrasante d'Anglo-canadiens, même bilingues.

2 Page 6.

canadien. Quand tous les Canadiens aimeront vraiment ce dualisme comme une richesse, quand ils voudront sincèrement le conserver et en payer le prix, il deviendra beaucoup plus facile de définir les conditions de cet art difficile, l'art d'être Canadien. Il deviendra aussi beaucoup plus facile de s'entendre sur la proportion de bilinguisme qui doit exister au sein de la population canadienne et à quel rythme on peut raisonnablement espérer l'établir.

Il s'agit évidemment ici d'une situation idéale à 98
laquelle il faut tendre mais aussi qu'il faut travailler à rendre possible. Et, dans cette perspective, le bilinguisme a un autre sens, surtout pour les Anglo-canadiens. On doit espérer qu'un jour la connaissance des deux langues apparaîtra à tous comme une conséquence naturelle d'une vision du Canada. Actuellement elle peut servir à engendrer cette vision. Tout effort sérieux pour apprendre le français, manifeste chez un Anglo-canadien une certaine volonté de mieux comprendre ses compatriotes francophones et révèle ainsi un biculturalisme de désir, d'aspiration. Plus il devient bilingue, plus il lui est facile d'entrer en dialogue avec les Canadiens français et, par là, de porter à son plein développement ce biculturalisme initial. Le bilinguisme est donc tout à la fois un acheminement vers le biculturalisme et son fruit le plus immédiat. Bien des Canadiens français en ont fait l'expérience et nous avons dit que ce phénomène s'est souvent produit à l'Université d'Ottawa.

C'est donc en vue du biculturalisme qu'il faut 99
chercher des moyens de répandre le désir et la pratique du bilinguisme. Il ne peut suffire de faire appel à des intérêts mercantiles ou à la nécessité de satisfaire à des réclamations trop bruyantes. A cause de cette influence

réci-proque entre le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, la tâche immédiate est double: d'abord inspirer le désir de devenir bilingue d'une volonté initiale de compréhension mutuelle, puis faire servir la généralisation du bilinguisme à l'enracinement d'un véritable biculturalisme qui fera voir la connaissance des deux langues comme un devoir pour tous les Canadiens. Les universités canadiennes pourraient jouer un rôle de toute première importance en ce domaine. En collaboration avec les réseaux de radio et de télévision, avec Radio-Canada en particulier, elles pourraient offrir à toute la population un enseignement efficace, une occasion d'entendre du français de bonne qualité. Elles pourraient en même temps travailler à faire naître et à développer chez tous les Canadiens le désir de devenir bilingues et la volonté bien déterminée d'y réussir. Une campagne sérieuse, concertée, menée de façon scientifique auprès de l'opinion populaire, produirait certainement des résultats fort appréciables.

C'est pourquoi il nous semble que la Commission 100 royale doit envisager deux objectifs. Il faudra en premier lieu trouver les moyens de corriger au plus tôt les situations anormales, susceptibles de détériorer encore davantage le climat de tension où nous vivons actuellement. D'abord en matière de bilinguisme, surtout dans l'administration centrale et dans les milieux comme la capitale fédérale, où l'unilinguisme est un flagrant défi à l'esprit canadien. En matière aussi de biculturalisme, comme par exemple en ce qui a trait au refus obstiné auquel se butent, dans bien des provinces, les Canadiens français désireux de procurer à leurs enfants une éducation conforme à leurs aspirations. L'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique donne au gouvernement fédéral le droit d'intervenir dans ces cas et la Commission pourra juger nécessaire

de soumettre des recommandations dans ce sens. Nous les trouverions justifiées.

Mais il faudra aussi trouver par quels moyens on 101
parviendra à une situation aussi rapprochée que possible de l'idéal, à une expérience vraiment bilatérale du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme, par le pays tout entier. Il faudra définir les institutions et les organismes permanents auxquels le Canada confiera la tâche de le guider dans cette expérience. Les améliorations immédiates suggérées plus haut apporteront un remède à nos maux les plus évidents, mais elles ne sauraient fournir une solution définitive. Le Canada devra continuer à chercher, il devra trouver quelles réformes de structures lui permettront de devenir vraiment bilingue et biculturel, tout en continuant de se développer et de grandir. Car le Canada doit continuer d'exister et de croître, même s'il en est encore à tenter de se définir lui-même; en effet pour le pays, comme pour l'Université d'Ottawa, l'expérience du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme ne peut être qu'une expérience vécue.

3) Sens de la recherche du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme au Canada.

Le pays n'a pas le loisir d'interrompre sa vie 102
normale, son développement social, politique, économique, intellectuel et artistique pour concentrer toutes ses énergies à mettre à l'essai des formules de biculturalisme et de bilinguisme. On ne peut envisager comme solution à la crise actuelle un repliement du Canada sur lui-même, alors que les deux groupes se donneraient comme but premier d'apprendre à vivre ensemble, en laissant le reste du monde poursuivre son existence. Même si les problèmes du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme atteignent tous les

secteurs de notre vie, ils ne peuvent pas devenir le centre de notre existence comme peuple. Il faut évidemment aux pays comme aux individus des temps forts de réflexion, d'auto-critique, d'orientation. La Commission royale incarne un tel moment. Mais cette concentration de nos énergies humaines ne saurait durer sans imprimer à toute notre vie commune un caractère artificiel. De plus, ces moments de paroxysme provoquent nécessairement des explosions d'extrémisme et ne sont pas exclusivement bienfaisants. C'est en étant pays biculturel et bilingue que nous apprendrons à le devenir vraiment. On pense à la phrase de Saint-Exupéry, à propos de l'amitié:

Liés à nos frères par un but commun et qui se situe en dehors de nous, alors seulement nous respirons et l'expérience nous montre qu'aimer ce n'est point nous regarder l'un l'autre, mais regarder ensemble dans la même direction¹.

Le sens de la recherche du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme au Canada doit donc se définir par rapport à ce but commun vers lequel nous devons tendre de concert.

Ce but commun, ce bien commun, il est constitué par 103 l'ensemble des intérêts qui sont mieux servis grâce à la collaboration de tous, par l'ensemble des avantages dont l'obtention serait impossible sans cette mise en commun des énergies, il est surtout incarné par l'idéal supérieur auquel tous peuvent parvenir en travaillant de concert, mais qui resterait hors d'atteinte de leurs efforts dispersés.

Dans une société politique, la raison d'être des 104 cadres administratifs, de la concentration des pouvoirs et de leur usage, de la levée des impôts et de leur emploi, se trouve dans les exigences du bien commun; l'analyse de ces facteurs révèle ainsi l'idée que cette société se fait

1 Antoine de SAINT-EXUPÉRY, Terre des Hommes, Paris, éd. La Pléiade, 1959, p. 252.

du bien commun. Or une telle analyse semble indiquer que cette idée n'est pas identique dans nos deux cultures.

Les Anglo-canadiens comprennent plus spontanément 105
le bien commun d'une façon qu'on pourrait appeler statistique, comme un plus petit commun dénominateur. Le bien commun est constitué par l'ensemble des intérêts, des idéaux admis par tous les membres de la collectivité, les éléments de cet ensemble étant choisis par la majorité. Les détenteurs du pouvoir doivent définir cet ensemble au nom de la majorité et veiller à sa conservation, à son développement. Les particularismes sont exclus du bien commun et les chefs de la société ne peuvent pas utiliser les fonds publics à leur promotion. Toutes les concessions en ce domaine sont faites au nom de la paix et de la concorde et elles sont considérées comme des diversions, des tangentes.

L'histoire du système d'éducation en Ontario, en 106
fait dans presque toutes les provinces à majorité anglo-canadienne, illustre clairement cette vision. L'école publique idéale, celle qui répond aux exigences du bien commun et a un droit strict à l'aide gouvernementale, c'est l'école neutre unilingue; elle convient à tous en ce sens qu'elle satisfait aux intérêts minimums partagés par tous. Si un groupe particulier ne veut pas se contenter de ce minimum, il doit pourvoir par lui-même à ses besoins spéciaux sans compter sur le gouvernement¹. Il est même arrivé qu'on ait usé des ressources de la loi pour empêcher des minorités de s'assurer un supplément auquel elles tenaient. La province d'Ontario a dû céder en ce domaine au niveau de l'enseignement primaire, mais les concessions

1 Il va sans dire que les Anglo-canadiens de foi catholique ne partagent pas ces vues, au moins en ce qui touche aux particularismes religieux en éducation.

ont été accordées sous la forme d'un régime d'exception. Même des corrections récentes à une situation ouvertement injuste, ont été faites en marge de la loi générale. Au niveau de l'enseignement universitaire, la province reste inébranlable en ce qui a trait aux particularismes religieux, elle refuse de les considérer comme appartenant au bien commun général, même dans le cas d'une institution comme la nôtre dont on vante le rôle au sein de la province.

Il est une autre façon de voir le bien commun et de 107
définir le champ d'action des pouvoirs publics. Les particularismes ne sont pas alors compris comme des intérêts particuliers laissés en marge du bien commun, on tâche au contraire d'en conserver le plus grand nombre possible dans les visées d'ensemble de la société. Leur diversité même apparaît comme un enrichissement, comme un élément constitutif du bien commun, objet d'un droit auquel on ne peut attenter, même au nom de la loi de la majorité. La société doit reconnaître la légitimité de cette diversité et les fonds publics peuvent être employés à en développer les organes.

Le régime scolaire de la province de Québec illustre 108
bien cette vision. La majorité française et catholique a voulu laisser aux groupes minoritaires anglo-canadiens, protestants et catholiques, les institutions qu'ils se sont données, conformément à leur idéal. Anglaise, protestante ou neutre, une université n'a qu'à faire la preuve de sa valeur professionnelle, d'après les standards reconnus par ces minorités, pour recevoir du gouvernement un traitement de rigoureuse égalité. Des réclamations récentes visant à modifier cette attitude envers les universités McGill et Bishop n'ont éveillé que fort peu de réactions, presque toutes défavorables. Elles allaient contre la philosophie de l'ensemble de la population.

Ces considérations sur les deux façons possibles de 109
définir le bien commun peuvent paraître théoriques, de
fait nous sommes en présence de deux philosophies. Il
serait trop long d'examiner ici en détail ces deux visions
de l'homme, de ses droits et devoirs, de ses rapports avec
la société. A l'Université d'Ottawa, nous savons que
cette apparence théorique est un trompe-l'oeil. Nous vi-
vons justement au point de rencontre de ces deux philoso-
phies et nous avons été à même d'éprouver les répercussions
de leur choc d'une façon bien pratique. L'Université a
tenté une expérience du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme
grâce surtout à la détermination de Canadiens français,
dont la plupart sont québécois d'origine. Nous connais-
sons les conséquences pratiques de l'une et l'autre de
ces visions du bien commun.

Nous ne tenterons pas de les comparer au point de 110
vue de leur valeur abstraite. Comme les deux cultures
sont représentées à l'Université, chacune d'elles trouve-
rait certainement des défenseurs parmi nous. D'autre
part, cette dualité fait partie de notre contexte bicultu-
rel canadien et il serait illusoire d'espérer la ramener
à l'unité; il sera plus fécond de trouver une solution
pratique à la situation créée par cette diversité.

Au risque de nous répéter, il nous semble que cette 111
solution ne peut se trouver que dans un biculturalisme
authentique, dans le désir de conserver le Canada tel que
l'histoire l'a fait. Il faudra pour cela comprendre
l'oeuvre de notre histoire dans son intégrité, ne pas la
réduire à ses épisodes militaires et cesser de voir notre
pays en état de trêve, où les vaincus préparent leur
revanche pendant que les vainqueurs consolident leurs posi-
tions dans l'attente d'une reddition sans conditions. Une
telle transposition de catégories militaires à tous les

domaines de la vie canadienne ne peut être que néfaste. Il vaudra mieux voir le Canada constitué par deux groupes ethniques, comme un fait établi, accompli, indépendamment des événements militaires qui ont créé cet état de choses.

Dans cette perspective, le problème du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme est assez simple, il est essentiellement celui de la place de la culture et de la langue française au Canada. La source de toutes les solutions particulières se trouvera dans leur intégration à chacune des deux visions du bien commun canadien. Si on les voit, de part et d'autre, comme objets d'intérêt particulier pour une minorité mais étrangers au bien général de tout le Canada, cette minorité continuera de faire du bilinguisme, recherché pour lui-même, une arme de combat et un monopole à préserver, la promotion de la culture française restera un enjeu et on tentera de l'enlever de haute lutte, même au détriment du bien commun. Les représentants de la majorité doseront leurs concessions, visant surtout à parer aux dangers immédiats, accordant le minimum qui suffise à calmer la minorité, mais considérant toujours ces concessions comme des diversions dans la poursuite du bien commun. C'est donc dans l'acceptation définitive et unanime du biculturalisme comme élément essentiel du bien commun canadien, qu'on peut espérer trouver des principes de solution à nos problèmes. 112

Mais, dans la mesure où ce que nous avons dit des deux visions du bien commun est fondé en réalité, il devient évident qu'on ne peut viser à un style universel de biculturalisme valable pour tous les Canadiens. La seule formule qui ait des chances de réussir sera pluraliste. Nous aurons le biculturalisme canadien-français, où la langue et la culture françaises apparaîtront comme des éléments de diversité et d'enrichissement du bien 113

commun canadien dans sa totalité. Nous aurons d'autre part le biculturalisme anglo-canadien où la langue et la culture françaises finiront par s'inscrire comme éléments essentiels du bien commun, au nom de l'intégrité du pays a mari usque ad mare, dont Québec est partie nécessaire. Les premiers devront se convaincre que l'épanouissement, la survie même de leur héritage culturel sur le continent nord-américain, tiennent au besoin que tout le pays peut avoir de Québec, pour rester identique à lui-même contre les pressions venues du sud. Les seconds devront comprendre que le Canada, scindé en trois tronçons, ne résistera pas longtemps à ces pressions et sera nécessairement absorbé, politiquement et culturellement. Dans les deux camps, on devra voir que la force et les procédés d'intimidation ne peuvent rien résoudre. Pour des motifs assez différents, les deux groupes en viendront à vouloir de façon positive conserver le Canada comme pays biculturel et faire de la langue et de la culture françaises des parties intégrantes du bien commun canadien. Les Canadiens français trouveront dans cette certitude le supplément de patience dont ils auront sans doute encore besoin et les Anglo-canadiens verront mieux que cette patience n'est pas sans limites et ne veut plus se contenter de concessions boudeuses et mesquines.

C'est pourquoi il nous semble illusoire de tenter 114
des expériences de biculturalisme en essayant de créer des milieux artificiels, culturellement neutres, où des représentants des deux groupes tâcheraient de vivre ensemble en partageant uniquement ce qu'ils ont en commun, mettant en veilleuse ce qui peut les distinguer. Cette conviction aide à voir sous son vrai jour la valeur de notre expérience à l'Université d'Ottawa et la nécessité de la poursuivre sans en altérer les caractères

fondamentaux. Le vicomte Alexander of Tunis mettait cette valeur bien en lumière:

I think that it is a fine and noble thing that students of other denominations can become graduates of this splendid Catholic institution. To my way of thinking, there is no argument but that is right¹.

Ce que le vicomte affirmait de la religion vaut pour tous les éléments de la culture. L'expérience du biculturalisme par les institutions devra se faire dans des milieux différents, chacun d'eux gardant sa physionomie propre sous l'influence prédominante de l'une ou l'autre des deux cultures, mais chacun d'eux devant également être soumis à l'action d'éléments minoritaires importants. Il faudra poursuivre cette expérience dans des centres canadiens-français catholiques et canadiens-français pluralistes, dans des centres anglo-canadiens protestants, catholiques et neutres. Notre biculturalisme est en fait un pluralisme culturel et tout espoir semble vain de réduire ce pluralisme à l'unité anonyme d'un quelconque melting pot. Fût-il possible, cet espoir exprimerait une vision appauvrie du Canada.

C'est pourquoi nous disions plus haut que d'admettre 115 les limites de notre expérience, à cause de son caractère unilatéral, ne revient pas à avouer un échec². Toute expérience, prise isolément, sera forcément limitée dans ses résultats. Mais si chacune des expériences diverses qu'on pourrait poursuivre est encouragée par tous, voulue par tous, leur ensemble servira de guide très sûr au pays tout entier.

Il est évidemment des milieux où lessformules de 116 biculturalisme devront, par la force des choses, s'inspirer, au moins pour un temps, d'un idéal de compréhension, de

1 Plus haut, p. 50-51, n. 2.

2 Plus haut, p. 40.

largeur de vues et de compromis. Nous pensons en particulier à l'administration fédérale. Comme l'expérience canadienne du biculturalisme doit rester une expérience vécue, on ne saurait subitement bouleverser les rouages administratifs du pays et risquer de troubler brutalement le développement normal de son existence. Il sera facile d'améliorer immédiatement le caractère bilingue des services fédéraux. Mais il nous semblerait dangereux de transformer les ministères et les services de l'administration centrale en autant de laboratoires où des formules de biculturalisme seraient mises à l'épreuve. Ces expériences devront être poursuivies ailleurs et les résultats, quand ils seront solidement établis, pourront guider les réformes jugées nécessaires dans l'organisation interne du gouvernement fédéral, afin d'en faire une image plus fidèle et un centre vital plus efficace du Canada biculturel.

4) Nécessité immédiate d'abandonner l'empirisme.

Enfin il doit être clair pour tous que l'ère de 117
l'empirisme en matière de biculturalisme et de bilinguisme doit être définitivement close. Justement parce que l'expérience canadienne du dualisme culturel et linguistique doit réussir tout en étant une expérience vécue, le pays doit s'assurer toutes les chances possibles de succès en ayant recours à toutes ses ressources pour guider cette expérience de façon rationnelle, réfléchie, scientifique. Il ne peut plus se payer le luxe de laisser cette tâche de réflexion et de direction à la seule bonne volonté d'individus isolés, de groupes restreints ou d'institutions exceptionnelles abandonnées à elles-mêmes. Après ce que nous avons dit plus haut des effets de l'empirisme il est

certainement superflu d'ajouter ici quoi que ce soit sur ce point.

Conclusion.

Notre expérience conduit donc à des conclusions 118
intéressantes pour tout le Canada. Quelques-unes de ces
conclusions sont négatives, d'autres sont plus positives.
Nous avons tenté une évaluation objective de notre expé-
rience et cette appréciation nous a amenés à signaler des
succès et à admettre des échecs. Nous nous sentons le
droit d'être fiers des premiers et nous ne pensons pas
devoir porter seuls le poids des seconds. De ceux qui
auraient pu nous aidé et ont refusé de le faire, nul ne
peut prétendre avoir travaillé de toutes ses forces à la
cause du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme canadiens.

TROISIEME PARTIE : Recommandations.

1. Que la capitale fédérale devienne une ville véritablement bilingue.

Le paradoxe d'une capitale unilingue au centre d'un 119 pays bilingue a vraiment assez duré. Il a toujours été inacceptable, il le devient davantage chaque jour, à mesure que l'attention du pays et de l'étranger est centrée autour des problèmes du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme canadiens. Nous avons signalé un inconvénient causé à l'Université par l'unilinguisme de la capitale: des universitaires francophones ont hésité à venir chez nous ou n'y ont pas été satisfaits à cause du milieu unilingue où ils devaient vivre¹. Ce même inconvénient a déjà empêché le gouvernement central d'obtenir les services de collaborateurs compétents; le réveil du nationalisme canadien-français ne diminuera en rien la gravité de la situation. L'apport de fonctionnaires canadiens-français sera pourtant absolument nécessaire, si on veut donner au gouvernement fédéral une inspiration biculturelle en plus de lui assurer une expression bilingue. Or il est certain que cette collaboration sera obtenue difficilement tant que les Canadiens français auront des raisons de se sentir expatriés à Ottawa. Nous avons dit également que la "révolution tranquille" du Québec complique le problème de trouver des universitaires québécois disposés à quitter leur province natale. Le gouvernement fédéral a sans doute déjà fait la même constatation. Ce problème deviendra d'autant plus complexe que la ville d'Ottawa s'obstinera dans l'unilinguisme, même si elle consent, de mauvaise grâce, quelques concessions "dans les secteurs de la ville

1 Deuxième partie, p. 28-29.

où la population francophone est plus considérable". Ce bilinguisme d'exception, de ghetto, ne peut satisfaire personne et il exaspérera lentement, ou rapidement, les Canadiens français et tous ceux qui prennent au sérieux le caractère bilingue de la patrie canadienne. Tant que le bilinguisme des édifices fédéraux et de certaines entreprises commerciales leur donnera une allure d'exception au sein de la cité, Ottawa restera une ville ontarienne à laquelle il advint un jour d'être choisie comme siège du gouvernement central d'un pays bilingue, elle ne sera pas vraiment la capitale nationale, ni au sens anglais, ni encore moins au sens français du mot. Ceux qui constituent la "nation canadienne-française" devront accepter que le gouvernement fédéral soit situé à Ottawa, rien de leur sentiment "national" ne les rattachera à cette ville, pour eux décidément étrangère¹.

La Commission devra donc trouver les moyens d'ins- 120
taurer un bilinguisme sans réserves au coeur du pays. Le moyen le plus naturel, dans nos cadres administratifs actuels, serait d'obtenir une entière collaboration des gouvernements municipal et provincial, assurée par l'appui le plus solide possible de l'opinion publique, dans la ville et dans toute la province. Les commissaires devront entamer, ou poursuivre s'ils sont déjà amorcés, des pourparlers en ce sens avec les administrations concernées. Il sera également nécessaire de mener une campagne intensive auprès de la population afin que les chefs de ces

1 Le bilinguisme étriqué et mesquin du Bureau du Tourisme municipal agace déjà les Québécois en visite à Ottawa et les convainc qu'ils n'y sont pas "chez eux". Bien des résidents de la ville en sont indignés. Ce n'est là qu'un exemple. Il est particulièrement urgent que les chicanes pseudo-légales des dernières années, soulevées autour de quelques miettes de bilinguisme tout au plus symboliques (v.g. panneaux de signalisation routière), soient définitivement abandonnées et qu'on s'attaque sérieusement au problème du bilinguisme de la capitale.

administrations non seulement n'aient pas à craindre de représailles électorales pour avoir travaillé en faveur du bilinguisme de la capitale, mais sentent plutôt s'exercer sur eux une pression populaire puissante. En employant à fond tous les média d'information, il devrait être assez facile d'arriver à créer un courant d'opinion qui exige une capitale vraiment bilingue.

La solution du district fédéral.

Une autre solution a été proposée, plus rapide, plus 121 radicale aussi, celle d'un district fédéral placé sous l'autorité immédiate du gouvernement central qui se chargerait d'en assurer le bilinguisme. Bien des raisons, politiques, financières, administratives ou autres doivent être considérées à ce sujet. Nous l'examinerons exclusivement du point de vue de l'Université d'abord, puis comme moyen de garantir le bilinguisme de la capitale.

Comme le gouvernement fédéral n'a jamais adopté 122 d'attitude discriminatoire à l'égard des institutions confessionnelles dans la distribution de ses octrois et subventions, une telle solution serait idéale pour l'Université d'Ottawa. Nous pourrions alors compter sur tous les secours dont nous avons besoin pour mener à bien notre oeuvre essentielle, le développement complet d'un centre universitaire, et en même temps pour poursuivre d'une façon plus satisfaisante notre expérience du bilinguisme. Et cela sans avoir à altérer les caractères fondamentaux de notre institution. La persistance de la province d'Ontario dans son attitude actuelle nous ferait donc souhaiter la création d'un district fédéral, même si cette initiative équivalait à l'aveu d'un échec dans la propagation en Ontario d'un biculturalisme authentique.

La même remarque s'impose à propos du district fédéral considéré comme moyen d'assurer le bilinguisme de la capitale. Ce serait une victoire de l'esprit canadien que la population d'Ottawa et de toute la province obtienne de leurs administrations respectives l'instauration d'un bilinguisme réel dans la capitale du Canada. Tous les Canadiens pourraient alors voir que des populations en majorité anglophone reconnaissent le caractère biculturel et bilingue de la patrie, sans que le gouvernement fédéral doive plus ou moins imposer cette reconnaissance, en se substituant à des autorités locales, obstinées dans une attitude périmée. 123

S'il devient évident aux yeux des commissaires que cette obstination ne peut être surmontée, il sera nécessaire que le Canada admette son échec publiquement et le gouvernement central devra assumer l'administration d'une région fédérale, soustraite à la juridiction des provinces, afin d'y établir un régime de bilinguisme véritable, qui en fasse une image véridique et un centre vital authentique du Canada bilingue et biculturel. 124

Notre première recommandation se formule donc comme suit: 125

Que la Commission étudie les moyens les plus efficaces de rendre la ville d'Ottawa vraiment bilingue et recommande aux gouvernements intéressés les mesures à prendre à cette fin. Si les administrations locale et provinciale refusaient de prêter leur entière collaboration à cette entreprise, que la Commission recommande la création d'un district fédéral. Dans ce cas, l'Université recommande avec force que le gouvernement central use de tous ses pouvoirs pour garantir les droits acquis des Canadiens français de l'Ontario.

2. Que le travail de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme soit continué de façon permanente par les universités canadiennes.

L'oeuvre confiée à la Commission royale ne sera pas terminée quand les commissaires auront remis leur rapport final au gouvernement. Nous supposons que des organismes déjà existants ou créés spécialement à cette fin, seront chargés de la mise à exécution des recommandations de la Commission. Mais le problème du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada est mouvant, il se modifie avec l'état des esprits dans tout le pays. Dans la mesure où la Commission royale réussira, une mesure que nous souhaitons très large, le rythme de ces modifications devrait s'accélérer. L'étude de ce problème devra donc être continuée, afin d'en suivre l'évolution et d'orienter l'action des agences gouvernementales conformément à cette évolution. Nous avons suffisamment souligné les méfaits de l'empirisme en ce domaine pour qu'il soit superflu d'insister sur la nécessité de ne pas y retomber après l'intermède de la Commission, mais de garder à l'étude un problème d'une importance aussi vitale pour tout le pays. D'autre part, nous avons dit que l'expérience canadienne doit être une expérience vécue. Les recours trop fréquents à des organismes exceptionnels, comme une commission royale d'enquête, comporteraient des inconvénients sérieux, déjà signalés.

Les universités et la poursuite du travail de la Commission.

Nous proposons que la charge de continuer le travail de la Commission royale soit confiée aux universités canadiennes. Notre expérience, malgré les faiblesses admises, nous semble précieuse et suggère à quel point un travail

du même genre, poursuivi de façon systématique, avec tous les instruments nécessaires, pourrait rendre de services, s'il était mené à la fois par plusieurs institutions universitaires, situées dans des milieux différents et sous l'influence des courants culturels variés à l'oeuvre au Canada. La diversité parmi ces universités garantirait le caractère pluraliste dont une expérience vraiment canadienne doit être marquée. Les études et les essais seraient mieux défendus contre le danger d'unification culturelle par réduction à un modèle universel, qui tendrait à la disparition du biculturalisme en supprimant la diversité. Il suffit de signaler que les universités ont à leur disposition le personnel spécialisé et les instruments de recherche nécessaires à un tel travail.

Le fait que les étudiants vivent seulement quelques 128 années à l'université permettrait de donner à toute tentative d'application d'une formule de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme, une souplesse à peu près impossible ailleurs. Le renouvellement constant du groupe humain rend facile de modifier des cadres sans causer beaucoup de remous dans le milieu. Enfin, le fait que les universités s'adressent à des jeunes est une garantie précieuse pour l'avenir du Canada. En dépit d'une bonne volonté en voie de généralisation, il faut prévoir que les Canadiens d'âge mûr seront moins susceptibles d'évoluer vers le biculturalisme que les jeunes générations. La parole du fondateur du Collège de Bytown garde donc toute sa valeur:

Un collège d'ailleurs contribuera puissamment à cimenter les liens les plus durables de tous ceux de la jeunesse entre les hommes d'origine et de religion différentes et effacera les antipathies naturelles et toujours déplorables parmi les citoyens de la même patrie.

Conditions de réalisation.

1- Choix d'institutions types.

Il faudra d'abord dresser une liste d'universités 129
chargées tout spécialement de cette tâche. Le premier
guide dans ce choix sera évidemment la volonté de ces
universités de participer à l'entreprise. Aucune insti-
tution manifestant un désir authentique ne devra être
exclue. Il faudra pourtant tâcher de constituer un
ensemble représentatif du Canada dans sa totalité et
tenir compte, par conséquent, de la situation géogra-
phique, de l'histoire de ces institutions, des moyens
dont elles disposent et de l'accès réel qu'elles ont ou
peuvent avoir aux divers secteurs de la population cana-
dienne. Il va sans dire que l'Université d'Ottawa serait
heureuse de poursuivre avec les autres universités du
pays, une expérience qu'elle a, jusqu'à maintenant, faite
dans une solitude à peu près absolue.

2- Coordination.

Afin d'assurer une coordination efficace de tous 130
ces efforts, le travail de planification et d'organisation
pourrait être confié à un comité de la Conférence nationale
des universités et des collèges canadiens. Le matériel
recueilli par la Commission royale serait remis à ce
comité qui verrait à ce que les études entreprises soient
gardées à jour, diversifiées et complétées selon le cas.
Sous la direction de ce comité, les universités se parta-
geraient les champs de recherche, selon leurs compétences
respectives, de même que les domaines d'expérimentation
les mieux adaptés aux ressources de chacune. Recherches
et mises à l'essai devant être classées selon un ordre de
priorité, établi d'après les indications recueillies par

la Commission royale au cours de son travail. Les résultats, positifs et négatifs, seraient transmis aux gouvernements intéressés et portés à la connaissance du public par l'intermédiaire de la CNUCC, sans que la liberté d'expression ou d'accès à l'opinion des professeurs ou des institutions en soit limitée.

3- Financement.

Le financement de ce travail n'aura pas le 131
caractère de placement à rendement réduit qu'a fatalement le financement d'organismes essentiellement transitoires, comme sont les commissions d'enquête. Les fonds engagés seront plutôt des investissements à profit permanent: le développement d'une université représente un gain durable pour tout le Canada.

Ce financement devra avoir deux buts: d'abord per- 132
mettre aux universités impliquées d'être au premier rang des institutions du pays. Nous avons dit en quel sens notre expérience du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme fut une expérience vécue. On ne peut changer ce caractère. Le premier but d'une université doit rester la poursuite de l'excellence dans le domaine universitaire. Il faudra donc assurer aux universités qui participeront à ce travail d'ensemble, les moyens de continuer cette recherche de l'excellence professionnelle. Il faudra de plus mettre à leur disposition les ressources supplémentaires exigées par le surcroît de travail qu'elles accepteront, quitte à mesurer cette aide à la valeur des résultats obtenus.

L'administration financière de cette entreprise 133
pourrait être confiée à la Fondation des universités canadiennes, qui s'occupe déjà des problèmes de financement des universités.

Ce problème de l'aide financière se compliquera 134
évidemment du fait que l'éducation, dans notre système
constitutionnel actuel, est du ressort des provinces.
Les subsides devraient donc venir des gouvernements pro-
vinciaux. Leur volonté ou leur refus de faire leur part
dans ce domaine sera un autre indice de l'état réel des
esprits au Canada, en ce qui a trait à la détermination
de rendre notre pays vraiment bilingue et biculturel.
Leur collaboration leur permettrait de soumettre de plein
droit à l'étude de spécialistes les aspects du problème
du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme caractéristiques de
leurs milieux particuliers et les dispenserait d'avoir
recours à des organismes d'exception. Le fédéralisme
coopératif dont on parle actuellement pourra et devra per-
mettre au gouvernement fédéral de collaborer au finance-
ment de ce travail, de concert avec les gouvernements
provinciaux, selon des formules conformes à la constitu-
tion canadienne.

Dans le cas où un ou plusieurs gouvernements pro- 135
vinciaux refuseraient de participer à ce projet, on devra
trouver les moyens de permettre à l'administration cen-
trale de suppléer à ces abstentions. Une telle nécessité
serait évidemment l'aveu d'un autre échec dans la réali-
sation d'un véritable esprit canadien, où le pluralisme
culturel est d'une nécessité absolue.

D'autre part, nous croyons que le gouvernement 136
central et les gouvernements provinciaux doivent éviter
de créer de toutes pièces des organismes indépendants
dont la place normale se trouve au sein d'une université.
Nous pensons par exemple aux écoles de langues, consti-
tuées en marge des cadres officiels de notre système
d'éducation. Ces substituts seront toujours artificiels,
leur organisation et leur rendement étant soustraits au

contrôle des organes d'enseignement reconnus au Canada; ils occasionnent de plus des doublages d'effort dont nous ne pouvons pas nous payer le luxe. Le rôle du gouvernement sera toujours de susciter, au sein des cadres spécialisés existants, les fonctions jugées nécessaires plutôt que de créer des succédanés marginaux. Tous les projets d'écoles gouvernementales nous semblent mériter la même remarque.

Notre deuxième recommandation peut donc se ramener 137
à la formule suivante:

Que le travail de recherche de la Commission royale soit continué de façon permanente par les universités du Canada, sous la conduite d'un comité de coordination de la Conférence nationale des universités et collèges canadiens. Que les universités engagées dans ce travail ou dans des expériences de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme reçoivent une aide financière adéquate.

3. Que l'organisation de l'enseignement au niveau secondaire permette l'accès à l'université bilingue, à égalité de chance pour tous.

Nous avons signalé un obstacle au bilinguisme de 138
l'enseignement universitaire en Ontario. Les étudiants du cours secondaire officiel (High Schools) ont été initiés aux différentes branches du savoir uniquement en anglais ou presque. Ils trouvent difficile de continuer leurs études en français à l'université, même s'ils sont de culture française et sont ainsi placés dans une position moins favorable que celle de leurs compagnons de culture anglaise. Notre faculté des sciences a du mal à recruter des étudiants pour son cours français. Si on veut développer le bilinguisme au niveau universitaire, il faudra

donc assurer aux élèves du cours secondaire (y compris la dernière année, Grade XIII) l'occasion de se préparer à un enseignement supérieur, aussi bien en français qu'en anglais.

Notre troisième recommandation se formule comme 139
suit:

Que dans toutes les provinces anglophones, en Ontario surtout, des écoles secondaires (y compris la dernière année, Grade XIII), emploient le français comme langue d'enseignement pour toutes les matières du programme.

CONCLUSION

Le récit que nous avons fait de notre expérience 140
du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme, l'évaluation que
nous en avons tentée et les recommandations soumises à
la Commission révèlent ce que nous pensons, à l'Université
d'Ottawa, du maintien et du développement de la dualité
culturelle au Canada. Pour nous, cette dualité est à la
fois un paradoxe, une lourde charge et un défi, mais elle
fait partie du destin de notre patrie. Le Canada n'a
qu'une seule chance de vivre et de prospérer en sauvegar-
dant son identité au sein du continent nord-américain,
c'est de rester fidèle à lui-même, à la nature qu'il a
héritée de son passé, même s'il doit pour cela modifier
profondément ses structures actuelles. L'histoire de
l'Université d'Ottawa a démontré que cette fidélité est
possible.

Le dualisme culturel canadien peut se comprendre de 141
bien des façons comme but à atteindre. On peut le voir
comme une gageure intenable, un rêve idyllique coupé de
réveils brutaux, on peut le voir comme un idéal ardu mais
possible. Nous voulons terminer ce mémoire en disant en
quel sens il nous semble réalisable. Nous emprunterons à
cette fin au philosophe Jacques Maritain la notion
d'idéal historique concret. Maritain l'utilise pour défi-
nir le type de civilisation propre à une époque historique
donnée; nous l'étendrons à un milieu géographique et hu-
main, le milieu canadien.

Maritain distingue l'idéal historique concret de 142
l'utopie à la Thomas More ou à la Fénelon. L'utopie pré-
sente un idéal intemporel de perfection sociale et poli-
tique absolue, proposé à la place de la réalité. Son
auteur, sachant très bien qu'elle ne sera jamais mise à
exécution, la charge de tous les éléments de perfection

imaginables. L'idéal historique concret est conçu par une génération, dans un effort de réflexion collective plus ou moins conscient, pour être mis à l'essai, pour être réalisé. Il ne se présente donc pas comme un sommet absolu de perfection et d'excellence, mais comme un maximum relatif, relatif à un climat historique donné. Il s'impose par les exigences mêmes de ce climat, non pas comme une oeuvre achevée, mais comme une oeuvre à faire, l'oeuvre qui répondre le mieux aux dictées de l'histoire¹.

L'édification d'un Canada véritablement bilingue 143 et biculturel ne nous apparaît pas comme une utopie, mais comme un idéal historique concret. L'expérience de l'Université d'Ottawa a prouvé, de façon imparfaite mais incontestable, que cet idéal peut être atteint dans un milieu limité; nous croyons que le pays tout entier pourra arriver à la même conclusion pourvu qu'on ne vise pas à une perfection absolue, définie une fois pour toutes en termes inchangeables. La notion d'idéal historique concret suggère plutôt des vues souples et susceptibles de s'adapter continuellement aux variations des circonstances et de la mentalité collective. Il faut obtenir que les représentants des deux cultures canadiennes apprennent graduellement à comprendre, à apprécier et à désirer la richesse que représente pour le pays notre dualisme ethnique. Comme personne ne peut décliner toute responsabilité devant la situation actuelle, personne n'a le droit d'exiger une solution immédiate en tout conforme à ses seules vues.

Les conjonctures présentes ont amené la création 144 d'une Commission royale d'enquête sur le sujet, cela nous apparaît comme un signe: c'est à la génération actuelle

1 Jacques MARITAIN Humanisme intégral. Problèmes temporels et spirituels d'une nouvelle chrétienté, Paris, Aubier, [1936], p. 139-141.

des Canadiens qu'il reviendra de formuler pour la première fois de façon réfléchie et raisonnée l'idéal historique concret du Canada. Abandonnant pour de bon l'empirisme, nous scrutons notre situation présente, notre histoire vraie, celle qui ne s'est pas fixée dans l'immobilisme en 1760 ni en 1867 et nous tentons de voir comment inspirer le présent et orienter l'avenir.

Le mandat de cette commission est animé d'une 145
idée-force, l'idée d'égalité entre nos deux cultures. Il semble bien en effet que toute vision du Canada devra maintenant intégrer cet élément d'égalité comme composante essentielle. Il n'est pas évident cependant que cette égalité doive être mathématique, d'un océan à l'autre, mais elle devra être réelle même s'il s'agit plutôt d'une égalité d'équilibre et de proportion. L'égalité mathématique immédiate semble bien relever de l'utopie, sauf quand il s'agit de corriger des injustices trop criantes comme, par exemple, dans le domaine de l'éducation. Une égalité d'équilibre, grâce à laquelle tous les Canadiens pourront se sentir chez eux partout au Canada, apparaît comme le coeur même de l'idéal historique concret auquel il faut tendre. Il serait utopique, par exemple de viser à une généralisation immédiate du bilinguisme au sein du groupe anglo-canadien, en des proportions d'égalité absolue avec ce qu'il est actuellement parmi les Canadiens français. On peut considérer comme un idéal réalisable que les anglophones unilingues, partout au Canada, soient de plus en plus disposés à reconnaître que leur situation, pour explicable qu'elle soit dans bien des cas, impose à leurs compatriotes francophones de fournir une quote-part démesurée à la cause de l'unité canadienne. Cette conviction empêchera que l'unilinguisme soit arboré comme un signe de supériorité et elle pourra servir d'amorce à un

véritable effort vers le bilinguisme. Il serait également utopique de tendre à convaincre les Québécois qu'ils doivent entretenir un attachement "national" d'égale intensité à l'égard de Toronto et de Québec, même à l'égard d'Ottawa et de Québec. Il devrait être possible de leur faire voir que tout le Canada, par son identité comme pays distinct, protège le particularisme canadien-français contre le péril d'assimilation qui monte du sud.

Ce dernier point constitue un élément essentiel de 146
notre idéal historique concret : la solidarité absolue imposée à nos deux cultures par notre situation géographique en Amérique du Nord et par ses conséquences politiques, économiques et culturelles. Il ne s'agit évidemment pas de bâtir l'esprit canadien sur l'anti-américanisme, mais il est difficile de voir ce qui pourrait subsister de la culture anglo-canadienne, en tant que distincte de la culture américaine, sans l'influence modératrice des Canadiens français sur le Canada. Il est également difficile d'imaginer comment le particularisme canadien-français pourrait résister à l'assimilation économique, puis sociale et politique et enfin culturelle, sans la protection offerte par une collectivité politique assez forte dont il est partie intégrante.

Tel est donc l'idéal historique offert à la généra- 147
tion actuelle des Canadiens: comprendre que leur pays ne peut être encore longtemps le champ de bataille d'une lutte culturelle, sans que les deux cultures dont il vit s'épuisent dans ce combat stérile. Il revient à notre génération de voir comment tout recours à la force, sous quelque forme que ce soit, pour obliger l'autre à plier, à capituler, va contre les intérêts qu'on veut défendre, car il ne peut qu'élargir le fossé entre nos deux cultures. Qu'il s'agisse de dynamitages, de chantage politique ou

d'appels rigides à la volonté de la majorité, toutes les tentatives d'un parti d'imposer à l'autre des solutions unilatérales, minent l'avenir du pays et, du même coup, menacent la survie de nos deux cultures. Le Canada sera bilingue et biculturel ou il ne sera pas; nos deux cultures se développeront de concert au sein du Canada a mari usque ad mare, ou elles disparaîtront. Et ce dualisme ne doit pas être vu comme un pis-aller auquel on se résigne de mauvaise grâce, mais comme une richesse qu'on aime et qu'on veut conserver.

La route sera longue et difficile vers la réalisation de cet idéal historique. Les tentations de facilité, séparation ou assimilation, pourront devenir hallucinantes, surtout sous l'influence des extrémismes. Il est permis d'espérer que le Canada saura y résister et acceptera les longues patiences et les changements immédiats également nécessaires à sa survie et à son épanouissement. 148

A l'Université d'Ottawa, nous croyons à la valeur de cet idéal, pour en avoir vécu depuis 1848. C'est pourquoi nous avons voulu fournir au travail de la Commission le concours d'un témoignage sans réticences. Nous avons tenté de faire voir à la fois nos réussites et nos échecs dans l'espoir que notre expérience pourrait être de quelque utilité à tout le pays. L'image de l'Université n'a pas été enjolivée, nous ne cherchions pas à glorifier notre oeuvre mais à collaborer à un travail urgent de réflexion collective sincère. 149

C'est de tout coeur que nous souhaitons à la Commission le plus franc succès. Avec tout le Canada, l'Université d'Ottawa sait bien que sa prospérité future, sa vie même, dépendra dans une large mesure de ce succès. 150

Université d'Ottawa,
décembre 1964.

A N N E X E S

ANNEXE I : La langue d'enseignement dans les diverses facultés (1964).

151

1. Français seulement:

Ecole d'Education physique et de Récréation
Institut de Sciences domestiques

2. Bilingues:

Faculté des Arts
Faculté de Philosophie
Faculté de Théologie
Département de l'Extension universitaire
Faculté des Sciences sociales
Sociologie: français seulement
Politique : bilingue
Economique: prédominance de l'anglais
Faculté de Droit:
Droit civil: français exclusivement
Common Law : anglais exclusivement

3. Prédominance de l'anglais:

Ecole de Psychologie et d'Education
(Cours doublés en première année.)
Ecole d'Infirmières
Ecole de Bibliothécaires
Faculté des Sciences pures et appliquées
(On y a inauguré le système des cours
parallèles en première année; cette
initiative se poursuit actuellement.)

4. Anglais seulement:

Faculté de Médecine
(Le cours d'éthique médicale est doublé.)

ANNEXE II : Composition du corps étudiant.

152

1. Selon la langue maternelle

	Français	Anglais	Autres ¹	Etudiants	% non français
1958-59	1477	837		2314	36.1
1959-60	1545	1095		2640	41.4
1960-61	1651	1233		2884	42.7
1961-62	1874	1116	296	3286	42.9
1962-63	1952	1276	292	3520	44.5
1963-64	2078	1458	273	3809	45.4

1 Parlent ordinairement l'anglais.

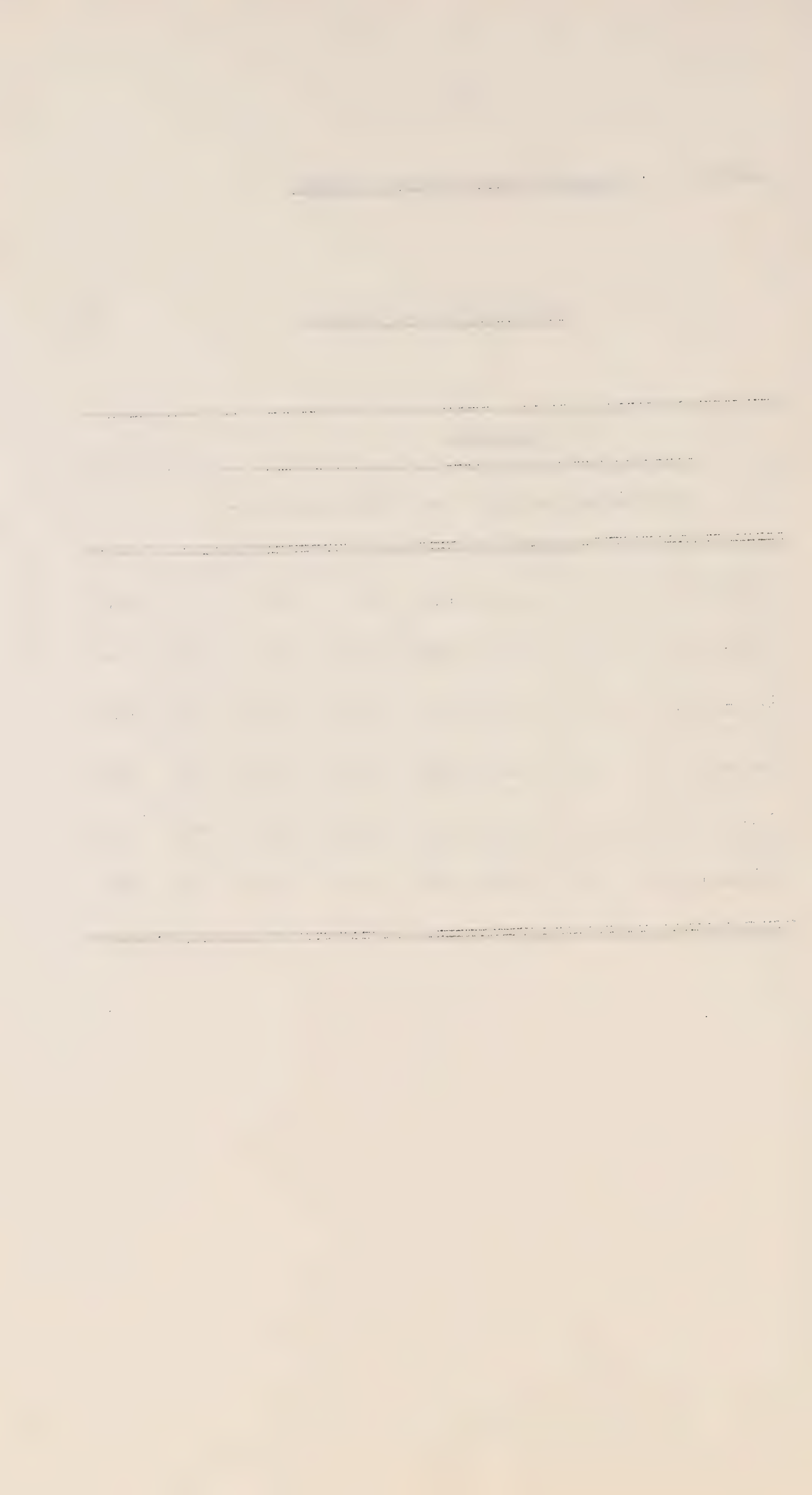


ANNEXE II : Composition du corps étudiant.

3. Selon le lieu d'origine

154

Canadiens												Autres	Total
T-N	IPE	N-E	N-B	Que	Ont	Man	Sask	Alb	B-C				
1958-59	16	-	16	29	728	1223	15	16	22	-	243		2314
1959-60	15	4	16	26	811	1439	13	32	26	5	253		2640
1960-61	20	4	22	41	936	1441	18	32	38	14	318		2884
1961-62	21	7	19	42	1168	1547	14	29	35	10	394		3286
1962-63	21	10	22	38	1243	1638	18	18	36	8	468		3520
1963-64	27	8	20	40	1345	1825	25	36	43	10	430		3809



ANNEXE II : Composition du corps étudiant.

4. Etudiants de la région Ottawa-Hull

155

	Ottawa Eastview	Hull Gatineau	Total	% sur total étudiants
1959-60	945	157	1102	41.7
1960-61	908	155	1063	37.2
1961-62	977	204	1181	35.9
1962-63	1043	208	1251	35.5
1963-64	1167	261	1428	37.4

ANNEXE III : Mémoire présenté par l'Université d'Ottawa
à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le
bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, lors des
séances préliminaires, 8 novembre 1963.

Messieurs les présidents conjoints,
Madame et Messieurs les commissaires,

Nous prenons pour acquit que les membres de la Com- 156
mission sont persuadés que, si le bilinguisme et le
biculturalisme constituent l'objet immédiat de leur
enquête, ils ne doivent pas perdre de vue la fin ultime
de leurs travaux, c'est-à-dire l'union du peuple canadien.
Les événements récents qui ont motivé l'institution de la
Commission en font foi. Toutes les recherches poursuivies
et l'interprétation tant des situations existantes que des
recommandations à présenter doivent donc s'inspirer de
cette préoccupation de l'union psychologique du peuple
canadien.

En conséquence, nous nous permettons de présenter à 157
la Commission des suggestions et sur la substance de ses
recherches et sur les méthodes qu'elle doit employer.

I. Sur la substance de l'enquête:

a) D'abord, la Commission doit s'adresser à ces 158
tâches qui sont explicitement spécifiées dans
l'ordre-en-conseil (C.P. 1963-1106) qui lui a donné nais-
sance, à savoir, "faire enquête et rapport sur l'état
présent du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada".
Nous croyons, toutefois, que cette enquête doit s'appuyer
en premier lieu sur l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britan-
nique tel qu'il fut adopté au siècle dernier, avant même
la formation définitive du Canada et dans un climat où ne
prédominaient pas les préoccupations de bonne entente et

de compréhension mutuelle "entre les deux peuples qui... ont fondé" la Confédération, et en second lieu sur l'évolution politique, économique, démographique et psychologique qui depuis près d'un siècle a marqué le développement du Canada. La Commission ne saurait faire abstraction du dynamisme social qui a sensiblement altéré le climat politique et psychologique du Canada pour ne s'attacher qu'à la lettre du document constitutionnel de 1867 et des autres lois adoptées lors de la constitution de nouvelles provinces.

Cette confrontation de la situation actuelle et du droit, si elle est faite par des constitutionalistes soucieux d'objectivité, pourra peut-être mettre fin au débat, aujourd'hui trop mêlé d'affectivité, sur la nécessité d'amender ou même de refondre la constitution. Du moins elle pourrait indiquer, d'une part, les mesures administratives et même les lois nécessaires à la définition plus effective "du caractère fondamentalement biculturel de notre pays" (C.P. 1106) en tout ce qui relève de la compétence fédérale et, d'autre part, les moyens par lesquels le gouvernement fédéral pourrait exercer une influence morale dans le même sens en tout ce qui échappe à son pouvoir législatif. 159

b) Deuxièmement, la science sociologique semble bien être arrivée à la conclusion à l'échelle mondiale que si les relations entre la majorité et les minorités dans une société donnée se composent d'obligations légales, elles doivent aussi se composer de motivations sociales. C'est pourquoi il nous apparaît que, si une étude de l'aspect constitutionnel est nécessaire comme base ou point de départ des travaux de la Commission, les efforts les plus positifs et les plus prometteurs de 160

celle-ci seront ceux qui porteront sur l'aspect sociologique. En effet, les exemples si nombreux que nous rapportent les nouvelles provenant des diverses parties du monde aussi bien que l'histoire des siècles passés révèlent que, en dehors des dictatures, les textes de lois non conformes aux attitudes sociales ne provoquent le plus souvent que des réactions très vives et parfois même des révolution.

En ce qui concerne cet aspect sociologique, il 161
serait peut-être plus important de découvrir la pensée des Canadiens, dans l'ensemble, sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, les définitions qu'ils en ont, leurs attitudes, sentiments et convictions à cet égard, que de s'attacher longuement à l'examen des conditions sociales présentes, favorables ou nuisibles au bilinguisme. Une telle étude permettrait peut-être de déceler pourquoi la minorité française est sans cesse portée à déclarer que les Canadiens d'expression française "ne se sentent pas chez eux à l'extérieur du Québec", que les Canadiens d'expression anglaise "se sont bâti une maison pour eux. [Qu']ils tiennent à la garder telle," et que c'est la raison pour laquelle "tant de Canadiens français regardent de plus en plus cette maison comme inhabitable." Les opinions recueillies parmi les minorités françaises en dehors du Québec et la minorité de langue anglaise dans le Québec pourraient bien s'avérer les plus révélatrices; car il est normal que les soumissions provenant du Québec français insistent tout particulièrement sur la situation de cette province dans le contexte fédéral tandis que les réactions des anglophones éloignés de l'influence française s'appuient presque exclusivement sur des notions anglo-saxonnes de culture. La détermination plus que séculaire de l'Université d'Ottawa de rapprocher les deux cultures

l'a éveillée aux dangers que comportent ces prises de positions trop formellement définies.

II. Méthodes d'enquête:

L'étude du problème constitutionnel et de la situa- 162
tion actuelle du bilinguisme ne comporte pas de difficultés
méthodologiques et la Commission a déjà peut-être mobilisé
à cet effet les experts et techniciens qui doivent l'entre-
prendre. Il en va autrement de l'enquête sociologique
sans laquelle il nous apparaît difficile que la Commission
puisse remplir la seconde partie de son mandat, à savoir,
"recommander les mesures à prendre pour que la Confédéra-
tion canadienne se développe d'après le principe de l'éga-
lité entre les deux peuples qui l'ont fondée..." Quel que
soit l'idéal qu'on puisse entretenir d'un peuple biculturel,
il nous semble que le minimum auquel on doit viser est
que les chefs de file, le leadership, dans chacun des
groupes soient en mesure de communiquer entre eux et de
se comprendre. Ne sont-ils pas les premiers agents du
moulage de l'opinion publique et, dès lors, n'est-ce pas
à ce niveau que gît le plus dangereux écueil du pacte
confédératif? Dans ce cas, il importerait que leur con-
tribution au succès des travaux de la Commission soit
prépondérante et cette considération nous dicte les sugges-
tions que, pour plus de concision, nous présentons sous
une forme schématique sur les méthodes d'aborder et de
poursuivre l'étude du problème sociologique:

a) Utiliser de façon systématique et scientifique 163

toutes les données relatives à ce problème qui ont
déjà été recueillies par l'Institut canadien d'opinion
publique depuis une dizaine d'années et qu'on trouve en
filières au Roper Centre, à Williamstown, Mass.

b) Organiser à l'aide de l'Institut canadien 164
d'opinion publique ou de tout autre organisme

de recherches, un sondage général aux dimensions mêmes du Canada — sondage qui permettrait de connaître les opinions populaires sur la question.

Les universités, en particulier, pourraient apporter 165
une aide précieuse à la Commission tant dans la recherche elle-même que dans l'interprétation scientifique de ses résultats en distinguant les motivations rationnelles des motivations purement affectives. L'Ecole de Psychologie et d'Education de l'Université d'Ottawa a déjà effectué plusieurs travaux utiles dans ce domaine, tels la recension des écrits portant sur la connaissance d'une langue et la mesure possible du bilinguisme, la vérification de l'hypothèse neurologique de Penfield en milieu scolaire, une étude sur l'existence et la force des préjugés tant chez les anglophones que chez les francophones. Il est probable que d'autres universités ont déjà complété ou entrepris des études du même genre ou, du moins, les entreprendraient volontiers.

Au premier abord, il semblerait qu'une telle procé- 166
dure prolongerait indûment les travaux de la Commission. Si ce résultat était inévitable nous serions les premiers à la déconseiller. Nous croyons, cependant, que les départements de sociologie, de psychologie et de science politique des universités canadiennes manifesteraient autant de zèle que de compétence à poursuivre de telles recherches dans leurs régions respectives. Et quel avantage n'y aurait-il pas à intéresser activement un si grand nombre de Canadiens aux travaux de la Commission?

c) Dresser une liste de concepts et de problèmes, 167
structurés et ordonnés en un certain nombre de questions, que la Commission communiquerait sur demande à

ceux qui entendent rédiger des mémoires, afin d'assurer que le plus grand nombre possible traitent ces questions spécifiques, facilitant ainsi le travail de comparaison entre les mémoires et l'analyse sociologique. Ce serait comme un guide méthodologique, ne préjugant en rien du contenu des réponses et n'ayant qu'une valeur d'outil minimale qu'il serait loisible de compléter de bien d'autres façons.

d) Enfin, avant la publication définitive du rapport 168
comprenant plusieurs volumes, que la Commission présente un rapport préliminaire ou provisoire sous forme de sommaire ou de précis, afin que la critique puisse s'exprimer librement. Cette méthode serait plus démocratique et, à la longue, moins coûteuse, que de mettre le public en face du rapport final qui risque de n'être pas accepté et de susciter de vives réactions comme il est arrivé dans le cas de rapports d'autres commissions royales tant provinciales que fédérales dans le passé.

le 8 novembre 1963.

(Très révérend Père) Henri Légaré, o.m.i.,
Recteur de l'Université d'Ottawa.

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

1. Discours du T.R.P. Henri Légaré, o.m.i., lors
de la Collation des grades, 26 mai 1963.

A l'instar des individus, les institutions humaines 169
sont douées d'une personnalité qui les constitue dans un
"moi" collectif, fondé sur une unité et une identité
singulières. A leur nature essentielle, qui les situe
dans une espèce déterminée, s'ajoute une nature existen-
tielle, synthèse des conditions présentes à leur naissance,
des contingences de leur milieu, de leurs ressources
humaines et matérielles et des réalités successives,
subies imperceptiblement ou acceptées délibérément, qui
ont influé sur leur croissance. Tous ces éléments, liés
ensemble dans les représentations de la conscience col-
lective, définissent la personnalité de l'institution, lui
inspirent la volonté de vivre sa vie propre et de sur-
vivre à tous les obstacles que peut lui susciter le
dynamisme social.

L'Université d'Ottawa, que j'ai l'honneur de diriger, 170
est une institution au caractère bien distinctif. Née
presque à mi-chemin entre le conflit sanglant de la
Rébellion de 1837 et l'accolade du pacte confédératif de
1867, elle se donnait pour mission, dès ses plus humbles
origines, le rapprochement psychologique des deux groupes
ethniques que les hasards de la guerre avaient réunis en
une association perpétuelle.

S'il est vrai, comme le disait en son discours 171
inaugural le nouveau Principal et vice-chancelier de
l'Université McGill, que le rôle d'une université est de
servir chaque génération dans ses exigences les plus

profondes sans s'attacher à des coutumes périmées et à des programmes désuets, l'histoire de l'expansion universitaire atteste qu'Ottawa est la seule université canadienne qui ait pleinement compris les conditions fondamentales du développement de notre pays.

Mesdames et messieurs, le temps est venu de faire 172
certaines mises au point. La première est que — sans les sacrifices énormes consentis par la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée — ou bien le collège ou université d'Ottawa aurait croulé sous le poids des épreuves qui l'ont de tous temps assailli; ou bien, passant en d'autres mains, il aurait tôt perdu son caractère distinctif, le sens de sa mission, en un mot sa tradition, pour devenir une institution unilingue dans un milieu à forte prédominance anglophone.

Une seconde considération que notre temps rend 173
encore plus pertinente est que si, au moins depuis la Confédération, les autres institutions éducationnelles du Canada s'étaient inspirées des mêmes principes que notre Université, cette même confédération serait aujourd'hui plus fière de ses réalisations nationales que préoccupée de ses tensions internes, plus ambitieuse de jouer un rôle à l'échelle mondiale que tourmentée par les soucis de sa propre unité.

On parle de "la dernière chance de la Confédération". 174
Si cette menace était solidement fondée sur des faits irréversibles, ce serait confesser la faillite au Canada de l'enseignement universitaire, pépinière où se forment les chefs d'un Etat, les artisans de sa destinée. Dans une telle éventualité, seule l'Université d'Ottawa pourrait rejeter tout blâme; car elle seule s'est appliquée, dans une fidélité constante et selon ses humbles moyens, à réaliser les fins du pacte fédératif.

Je ne sais si je me trompe, mais j'éprouve le senti- 175
ment très vif de rencontrer la pensée de cet auditoire et,
en particulier, la vôtre, chers gradués d'aujourd'hui, en
affirmant qu'il est nécessaire que l'Université d'Ottawa
poursuive son oeuvre unique selon l'esprit qui l'a tou-
jours animée, dans l'accomplissement de la mission que
lui ont léguée ses fondateurs et en conformité d'une tra-
dition maintenant plus que séculaire.

Ladies and gentlemen, in earlier times, when educa- 176
tion was more a matter of free enterprise than of govern-
ment concern, each school was imbued with a character all
its own, animated by a special spirit and distinguished
in its particular identity. In a word, it was proud of
its tradition, bequeathed to it by its founders and
jealously preserved through all the vicissitudes of an
exacting world which is constantly preoccupied with the
new problems arising from continual scientific develop-
ments.

In these conditions, even memorable customs could 177
change and did change; but a custom is not a tradition.
It is only a certain way of doing things in conformity to
a given historical context. It is, thus, really subject
to change and may even be dropped altogether so that the
institution may adapt itself to the mutations of a cease-
lessly evolving society.

A tradition, however, is a spirit; it is the con- 178
viction of an indisputable excellence, the ideal whose
inspiration endures through all the changes in customs and
in spite of the more or less numerous deviations imputable
to human frailty. As an illustration, let me say that,
like the history of all nations, that of the English
people shows occasional divergences from the norms of
righteousness and even at times denials of justice; but

the honourable tradition of British Fair Play and English Justice always re-emerges to the surface, and at the present time it is nothing less than admirable to observe the efforts made by the British Government to safeguard the rights and interests of all parties concerned in the transition of her colonies to a state of independence. This tradition is the foundation of our hope that, in Ontario, the cradle of British culture in Canada, customs whose origins go back to a time when religious intolerance was rife and racial distrust was rampant, customs which were crystallized in the legislation of a hundred years ago, will soon be discarded in order that true British Fair Play and effectual English Justice shall prevail and flourish in our fair Province.

I could protract this disquisition on the difference 179 between custom and tradition by further illustrations taken from the history of other political societies such as the tradition of liberty of our good neighbours to the South which — though not without blemish in the deed — remains pure in the ideal and may serve as a beacon in our harassed world; but at this University commencement, I am especially interested in the traditions of educational institutions.

In this respect, I make bold to say that no Canadian 180 institution of higher learning has better preserved its personality than the University of Ottawa through its attachment to the traditions left it by its founders. My boastful claim rests on three considerations: firstly, these traditions were unique in that, rising above mere academic excellence, they evinced a deep concern for the greatness of a unified Canadian nation; secondly, in the religious, political and social context in which the University expanded, this legacy was fraught with

difficulties undreamed of by any other institution; and, thirdly, the recent social and political developments on the Canadian scene have shown how sound was the foresight of our founders — a foresight which other Canadian colleges and universities might well have had for the greatest benefit of our country.

This tradition, this ideal, which constitutes the 181
unique character or personality of the University of
Ottawa and by which it will stand or fall, was explicitly
described three weeks before the opening of the College
of Bytown in a letter, dated July 18th, 1848, and written
by Bishop Guigues, first bishop of Bytown, and a member of
the Order which has built and directed this University.
Bishop Guigues wrote: "Indeed, the college shall solidly
cement the most durable bonds among the youth of different
[racial] origins and faiths and shall erase the natural
antipathies [which are] always deplorable [when they
exist] among the citizens of a common country."

On August 18th, 1848, the first "Prospectus of the 182
College of Bytown" was issued and reproduced in the news-
paper "The Packet". Among other information related to
the regular course of instruction it specifically empha-
sized that "the study of the English and French languages
which are indispensably necessary ... will be likewise
particularly insisted upon."

At the risk of being repetitious, may I stress that 183
at the very time when responsible government had finally
been achieved in Canada and the threat of annexation to
the United States been averted, when — in the words of
Professor Mason Wade in his scholarly work The French
Canadians — "an English-French Canadian solidarity was
achieved, as a result of which it was definitely settled
that the continent was to be divided between two powers...

and that one power (that is, Canada) was to be bicultural", the founders of our University set out to cement the bonds of that English-French solidarity without which Canada's destiny could not be fulfilled. May I stress further that over one hundred years before the oecumenical movement, which we are now witnessing, the same religious men attempted to remove the natural antipathies among Canadian citizens of different faiths. This is the unique tradition, those were the guide-lines, which the University of Ottawa had endeavoured to follow in the face of difficulties that called for, and still exact, the greatest sacrifices.

Mesdames et messieurs, la mission que s'imposèrent 184
les fondateurs de notre Université fut une gageure, un acte de foi dans l'avenir d'un Canada qui ne s'étendait pas encore "a mari usque ad mare", mais dont la grandeur s'estompait déjà dans un mouvement encore hésitant vers l'union de toutes les colonies britanniques du Nord américain. Elle s'appuyait surtout sur la conviction que, si les éléments extrémistes peuvent avoir leur heure dans la vie d'une société, la raison — fondement de la collaboration sociale — finit toujours par recouvrer ses droits. Tenter d'opérer la rencontre, dès leur jeunesse, des hommes raisonnables de chaque groupe ethnique de la dualité canadienne et même d'éliminer les fanatismes, les antipathies naturelles — selon l'expression de Mgr Guigues — entre les diverses confessions religieuses, telle était la fin particulière de notre institution.

Sur les deux plans, la tâche ne fut pas facile. 185
Le navire, contrarié par les courants marins et le caprice des vents, ne trace pas derrière lui un droit sillage et, chaque jour, d'habiles calculs en doivent rectifier le cours. Ainsi en fut-il du Collège de Bytown lancé en 1848

avec 75 élèves et des moyens de fortune, activé par la seule foi de ses fondateurs et le courage des générations d'Oblats qui se sont succédés à sa direction. Devenu l'Université d'Ottawa qui décerne aujourd'hui même des grades bien mérités à 698 étudiants dans presque tous les domaines des sciences naturelles et humaines et des humanités, il a poursuivi sa mission propre.

Oh, je ne nierai pas que son histoire révèle quelque 186 sinuosité. Assujétie aux imprévisibles changements sociaux, entravée par la précarité de ses moyens financiers et gênée par l'insuffisance de son personnel, l'Université a subi de temps à autres des glissements généralement imperceptibles d'un côté ou de l'autre, jusqu'à ce qu'un coup de barre décisif l'oriente de nouveau dans le sens de sa vocation première. Cette fidélité à sa mission ne rencontra le plus souvent que l'incompréhension. Maintes fois en butte aux accusations irréfléchies d'anglicisation portées contre elle par certains groupes francophones — bien qu'on n'ait jamais pu citer aucun exemple de Canadien français qui y ait perdu sa fierté nationale — elle essuyait dans la même mesure les rebuffades de certains anglophones pour des motifs exactement opposés.

Sa tentative de réduire les antagonismes religieux 187 si déplorables quand ils opposent les citoyens d'une même patrie demeura stérile pendant la majeure partie de son histoire. L'invitation de l'Eglise à des contacts empreints de sérénité, que les non-catholiques accueillent aujourd'hui avec tant d'enthousiasme, ne rencontrait alors que dédain quand elle émanait de l'Université d'Ottawa. L'après-guerre allait tempérer cette méfiance et les nombreux non-catholiques de toutes croyances, inscrits maintenant à ses cours ou professant dans ses classes, garderont toujours la conviction que l'Université, malgré son

caractère confessionnel, est une institution de haut savoir, préoccupée avant tout d'une recherche objective de la vérité intégrale.

Dear graduates, as you leave this Institution and 188
set out to carve a career for yourselves, earnest in the hope — which is characteristic of youth — that you will play some role of leadership in the fulfillment of your country's purpose, may I remind you that you will be facing an unstable world. Wherever on this earth our thoughts roam, we find people wrought upon by a sense of insecurity, filled with hesitations and often exacerbated to the point of having recourse to extremist action which solves nothing but is, nevertheless, symptomatic of a universal economic, political and social unrest.

Leaving aside on this occasion the momentous con- 189
sequences of the newly acquired independence of the Afro-Asiatic peoples, we need to probe into the perplexing transformations of our own Western culture. A superficial view would readily see the cause of our anxiety in our technological progress — a progress of such magnitude that its ultimate outcome leaves us with a feeling not only of uncertainty but of dread. True, a threat to the spirit of man is implied in this material progress; but we must believe that the human wisdom which presided at this inventive evolution will also find the way to control it for the greater benefit of mankind.

The cause of our instability and disquiet lies 190
deeper. The conflict, I believe, is in the very soul of man. It is a struggle between the desire to return to the traditions of our civilization which upheld the spiritual values of justice, brotherhood and charity, on the one hand; and, on the other, the rear-guard action of the heirs to the opportunistic school.

Our times are slowly but inescapably withdrawing 191
from the utilitarianism of a Jeremy Bentham, the prag-
matism of a William James and the experimentalism of a
John Dewey. This anti-intellectual current interrupted
the spiritual tradition initiated by the philosophers of
our Greco-Roman civilization and preserved as sacred in
the Western world until it was broken down at the end of
the 18th century by the skepticism of David Hume. Now,
however, the question "Does it work?" is more and more
giving way to an order of principles and transcendental
norms as the criteria of the good and the bad, the right
and the wrong of individual behaviour and social action.

While respectful of objective research in all 192
fields of human knowledge, the University of Ottawa has
always sought to instil in the minds of its students the
primacy of spiritual values which, alone, are the sound
basis and foundation of human rights and freedom, and we
applaud the evident concern of the younger generation —
your generation, my friends — to discover a more universal
and more stable meaning to life than the answers given
heretofore by the short-sighted, vacillating and shifting
experimentalism of the past generation.

May you remain convinced that, by living up to the 193
spiritual traditions of justice, brotherhood and charity
of your Alma Mater, you will also be working — as leaders
of your country — towards a greater and a better Canada,
united in the true conception of an indivisible Social
Justice.

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

2. Commentaire du Toronto Star, 27 mai 1963.

Is This Discrimination?

The head of the University of Ottawa, the Very Rev. 194
H.F. Legare, has called on the Ontario government for
"fair play" in providing provincial education grants.

Ottawa University gets none now. In contrast, 195
Carleton university, also in Ottawa, is this year getting
\$4,200,000. Provincial financial assistance to a dozen
other universities ranges up to \$19 1/2 million to the
University of Toronto.

The lack of grants to the University of Ottawa 196
seems like discrimination. The fact is, however, that it
is still a denominational college, operated by the Oblate
Fathers. It is a principle established for 100 years that
no provincial tax money shall be paid to private education-
al institutions.

It is for this reason that Trinity College, 197
federated with the University of Toronto, gets no direct
provincial grants, either. It is an Anglican institution.

Premier Robarts restated the principle in his 198
notable speech to the Legislature last February, dealing
with the Roman Catholic "bishops' brief" for more tax
money for separate elementary schools and a separated
Roman Catholic educational system through to university.

Separate elementary schools are constitutionally a 199
part of the public education system. Premier Robarts
recognized this in providing them with a new tax deal.
Separate high schools and colleges are not.

The bilingual University of Ottawa has since the 200
war developed from a small, parochial college into a major
Ontario university with numerous faculties and a student
body representative of many denominations. But it has so
far not ventured on the last step taken by other univer-
sities, which also grew out of denominational colleges.

McMaster in Hamilton, for example, became a public 201
university, retaining its Baptist affiliation only in its
divinity school.

Might not the University of Ottawa do likewise? The 202
spiritual values it cherishes could be nurtured through a
separate theological college, while making the rest of the
university non-denominational, and therefore, eligible for
grants.

Any extension of provincial grants to denominational 203
colleges and universities would, we believe, weaken the
structure of higher education in Ontario.

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

3. Bloc Note d'André Laurendeau, Le Devoir,
30 mai 1963.

L'université d'Ottawa:
vain appel au fair play?

Le T.R.P. Henri F. Légaré, o.m.i., lance dimanche 204
dernier un appel au "fair play britannique" et à la
"justice anglaise", il veut que l'université d'Ottawa,
dont il est le recteur, reçoive sa part normale des sub-
ventions provinciales.

Le Toronto Star du lendemain répond en éditorial, 205
et résume d'abord les faits. L'université d'Ottawa ne
reçoit rien, alors que le gouvernement ontarien distribue
aux autres universités une vingtaine de millions, dont
\$4,200,000 à l'université Carleton, l'autre université
outaouaise. On se croirait donc devant un cas de discri-
mination.

Pourtant il n'en est rien, poursuit le quotidien de 206
Toronto. La difficulté tient à ce que l'université
d'Ottawa est une université confessionnelle. Or c'est un
principe établi depuis un siècle qu'en éducation la
finance publique, dans la province, ne subventionne jamais
des institutions privées. Le premier ministre Robarts l'a
rappelé dans son discours de février dernier: le système
ontarien accepte l'école séparée au degré élémentaire,
mais non à l'échelle du high school et du collège.

Cette loi s'applique à tous, rappelle le Toronto 207
Star. C'est ainsi que Trinity College, institution angli-
cane, ne reçoit lui non plus aucune subvention provinciale.
Par contre, l'université McMaster, de Hamilton, obtient sa

part depuis que cette ancienne maison baptiste a consenti à devenir une université publique, dont seule la faculté de théologie demeure confessionnelle.

Le Star conclut que l'université d'Ottawa devrait en faire autant: qu'elle se déconfessionnalise, tout en conservant un "collège" de théologie. Les autres facultés recevront alors automatiquement l'appui financier de Toronto.

Pas de discrimination : mais...

Reconnaissons avec le Toronto Star que l'université d'Ottawa n'est pas la victime d'une loi d'exception. Elle subit la règle générale.

Nous ne savons point, par ailleurs, quelle solution les autorités de cette maison regarderaient comme acceptable, et nous ne parlons pas en son nom.

Ce qui nous frappe est d'un autre ordre.

Dans Québec on a trouvé le moyen de laisser la minorité s'organiser dans la liberté. Ses institutions sont éligibles aux subventions provinciales.

Mais l'Ontario n'a pas réussi à créer un système équivalent. Pour recevoir l'appui financier du gouvernement, l'université d'Ottawa devrait modifier ses propres structures. Voilà où le bât nous blesse.

Nous aurions fort bien pu établir ici des principes généraux qui priveraient les institutions anglaises et protestantes des subventions provinciales. Cela n'a jamais été fait. Mais cela existe depuis un siècle en Ontario.

Voici, il nous semble, un bon exemple des attitudes qui empêchent les Canadiens français de se sentir chez eux en dehors du Québec. Certes, on les accepte, mais à la condition qu'ils pensent et agissent comme tout le monde.

Un phénomène historique

On répondra qu'il ne s'agit pas des Canadiens 216
français en tant que tels, mais de catholiques qui
veulent faire reconnaître une institution confessionnelle.
C'est exact. Mais en pratique, cela revient au même, car
l'immense majorité des institutions d'enseignement, au
Canada français, sont confessionnelles: c'est historique-
ment notre façon de concevoir l'école. Ce problème est
réexaminé aujourd'hui au sein du Canada français, mais
c'est là une discussion entre nous, et qui nous regarde
seuls. Il reste qu'en Ontario une institution fondée par
les Canadiens français, de la façon dont nous avons créé
toutes nos maisons d'enseignement, ne recevra sa part de
subventions que si elle accepte le modèle anglo-canadien.

Reconnaissons que le problème est difficile à 217
résoudre. Mais depuis qu'il se pose, on n'a jamais tenté
efficacement d'y parvenir, sauf en nous forçant de ressem-
bler aux Canadiens.

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

4. Editorial de Vincent Prince, La Presse,
10 juin 1963.

"Fair play" très douteux

Un lecteur a eu l'amabilité de nous transmettre la 218
traduction française d'un récent éditorial du "Toronto
Star" commentant l'appel lancé par le recteur de l'Uni-
versité d'Ottawa au gouvernement ontarien en faveur de
son institution. Le R.P. H. F. Légaré, O.M.I., se plai-
gnait d'un traitement injuste, d'une véritable discrimina-
tion à l'endroit de l'école de haut-savoir qu'il dirige.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de lire cet éditorial au 219
complet. Il se résume facilement. Le quotidien toron-
tois explique, en somme, que si la constitution force le
gouvernement ontarien à subventionner les écoles séparées
au niveau élémentaire, rien ne l'y oblige aux niveaux
supérieur et universitaire. De toute façon, l'université
d'Ottawa n'a qu'à se "déconfessionnaliser" comme l'a fait
jadis le collège baptiste McMaster, et elle recevra des
subventions comme toutes les institutions du genre.

Le "Globe and Mail", autre quotidien torontois, 220
vient d'abonder à peu près dans le même sens. La consti-
tution, écrit-il, nous fait une obligation de maintenir
les écoles séparées au palier élémentaire. Ce principe
n'a jamais été étendu à l'éducation supérieure parce que
la loi ne l'exige pas et parce qu'il serait économiquement
impossible de le faire sans injustice pour l'une ou l'autre
des diverses confessions religieuses. Il n'y a pas que
des catholiques et des protestants en Ontario: il y a des
Grecs orthodoxes, des Juifs, des athées, etc. Le budget

ontarien ne saurait pourvoir à une éducation complète selon les standards actuels pour chacune de ces catégories.

On admettra que l'argument basé sur l'obligation constitutionnelle a de quoi nous laisser rêveur. En tout cas, au Québec, quand il s'agit de rendre justice à la minorité, nous n'avons pas cette habitude de scruter le texte constitutionnel de crainte d'aller au-delà de nos obligations. Ce qui se fait au Québec, province dont le budget est inférieur à celui de l'Ontario, doit pouvoir s'accomplir dans cette dernière province. Le fait qu'on a toléré une injustice pendant cent ans ne saurait rien changer à la question. 221

Vincent PRINCE

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

5. Editorial du Globe and Mail, 30 mai 1963.

Justice and University Grants

The Very Rev. H.F. Legare, rector of the University 222
of Ottawa, has called upon the Government of Ontario to
treat the university with British fair play and English
justice, by making grants to the university in the same
way in which it makes grants to non-denominational univer-
sities in the Province.

The fact is that the Government has, since 1949, 223
been treating the University of Ottawa with a generosity
not displayed toward any other denominational college or
university in the Province. It has been established
Provincial policy for more than 90 years that denomina-
tional institutions of higher learning shall not be
eligible for grants from the public purse. Yet Ottawa
University, which is operated by the Oblate Fathers of
Mary Immaculate of the Roman Catholic Church, has since
1949 received maintenance and capital grants of
\$15,725,000.

This total compares very favourably with the total 224
of \$16,475,000 received in the same period by Carleton
University, a non-denominational institution in the same
city. In calling for fair play and justice, Father
Legare does not exhibit a high degree of gratitude for
favours received.

The grants made to Ottawa were restricted to the use 225
of its Medical Faculty and its Faculty of Applied Science
and Engineering. The Government justified its break with
established policy on the grounds that these faculties

were not theological, that there was an acute shortage of French-speaking doctors to look after the French-speaking population in Ontario, and that the science and engineering faculty gave Ontario's French-speaking population new and wider horizons that were greatly needed.

The Government's excuses can perhaps be accepted on behalf of the medical faculty, where a direct physical need of some of its citizens was involved, but not on the part of the science faculty. The suspicion must arise that the Government bent its own rules and the rules of its predecessors because of the strong Quebec connections of Ottawa University and its relation to Ontario's French-speaking population. In conciliating these, however, it has been unjust to the institutions of higher learning operated by other denominations in this Province, and to the adherents of those denominations. 226

Ontario's refusal to provide public funds to church-controlled education at the secondary or university level has been clearly established since two years after Confederation and is based on sound democratic principle. Public support of church-operated elementary schools is a Constitutional requirement. But the principle has not been extended beyond that, except in the case of Ottawa University, and ought not to be. 227

This is a Province in which citizens are adherents of many religions, and some are adherents of none. It would be an economic impossibility to provide complete, separate educational facilities for each group; and it is contrary to democratic principle to tax all to provide such facilities for some. It was the Government of a Roman Catholic Premier, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, which in 1869 decided that only non-denominational universities should be eligible for public support. 228

Father Legare must be aware of this long-enduring 229
Government policy, and of the reasoning behind it. He
also knows what Ottawa University can do to make itself
eligible for Provincial grants. It can do what McMaster
University of Hamilton, a Baptist institution, did. This
was to become chartered as a non-denominational university,
while retaining a theological faculty. Secular faculties
and facilities thus became eligible for public support,
while the theological faculty and facilities did not.

If the University of Ottawa should apply and become 230
chartered as a non-denominational university, it would be
entitled, for its non-theological faculties, to the treat-
ment which Father Legare demands. These are the only
terms under which Queen's Park should grant the university
any wider support.

ANNEXE IV : L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides
provinciaux.

6. Bloc Note d'André Laurendeau, Le Devoir,
6 juin 1963.

L'Université d'Ottawa et le
"Globe and Mail"

Nous avons résumé la semaine dernière la réponse du 231
Toronto Star aux réclamations formulées par le recteur de
l'Université d'Ottawa. Le T.R.P. Légaré lançait un appel
au fair play et au sens de la justice des Anglo-Canadiens
de l'Ontario.

Le Toronto Star répondait par un refus aimable. Le 232
Globe and Mail, quotidien conservateur influent, également
de Toronto, prononce un non roide et sans appel.

Depuis 90 ans, écrit le Globe, c'est la politique de 233
l'Ontario de ne pas subventionner l'enseignement confes-
sionnel, sauf au stade élémentaire. Or en dépit de ce
principe, le gouvernement ontarien a traité généreusement
deux facultés de l'Université d'Ottawa: la médecine et
les sciences appliquées. En somme, ç'a été une concession
aux Canadiens français, et une injustice vis-à-vis les
autres institutions ontariennes à caractère confessionnel
qui n'ont rien reçu.

Or le principe de la non-confessionnalité absolue 234
s'impose dans une province comme l'Ontario. En conséquence
de quoi, si le Globe and Mail était logique, il demanderait
la suppression des subventions consenties pour des motifs
particuliers à l'Université d'Ottawa. Il ne va pas jus-
que-là, mais telle est évidemment la direction de sa
pensée.

Que devrait faire l'institution canadienne- 235
française? Selon le Globe and Mail — comme selon le
Toronto Star et la majorité des Ontariens qui n'ont pas
bougé d'un iota là-dessus —, il ne reste à l'Université
d'Ottawa qu'à rentrer dans le rang, à imiter la plupart
des institutions anglophones, à se déclarer neutre pour
pouvoir profiter de toutes les subventions que le gouver-
nement ontarien serait prêt à lui verser.

Il nous faut donc reprendre notre conclusion de la 236
semaine dernière. Une fois admis que le problème est
difficile, nous mettons en parallèle la situation de deux
provinces voisines:

Le Québec a trouvé le moyen de laisser sa propre 237
minorité s'organiser librement. Les institutions de la
minorité, à tous les stades, reçoivent les subventions de
l'Etat sans avoir à modifier leur caractère.

Mais l'Ontario n'a pas même essayé de créer l'équi- 238
valent. Aujourd'hui encore, la province refuse de
réexaminer l'ensemble de la question. Ce qu'elle donne
à l'Université d'Ottawa, elle le fait à titre de conces-
sion, en évoquant des motifs spéciaux. Tout ce qu'elle
trouve à proposer, c'est que l'Université d'Ottawa de-
vienne autre chose. Là-dessus, l'attitude est fermée —
aussi fermée qu'hier et avant-hier.

Les Canadiens anglais se sont bâti une maison pour 239
eux. Ils tiennent à la garder telle. Voilà pourquoi
tant de Canadiens français regardent de plus en plus cette
maison comme inhabitable.

ANDRE L.

TABLE DES MATIERES

INTRODUCTION.....	p.	1-3
NOTE PRELIMINAIRE: Bilinguisme et biculturalisme	p.	4-7
PREMIERE PARTIE : Histoire du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme à l'Université d'Ottawa		
1. Première période: 1848-1874.....	p.	8-11
2. Deuxième période: 1874-1900.....	p.	11-12
3. Troisième période: 1900-1915.....	p.	12-15
4. Quatrième période: 1915-1945.....	p.	16-17
5. Cinquième période: Le bilinguisme actuel...	p.	17-19
6. Associations étudiantes et organisations parascolaires.....	p.	19-20
7. L'Association des Professeurs.....	p.	20-21
8. L'Association des Anciens.....	p.	21
9. L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides provinciaux.....	p.	22-23
Conclusion.....		23-26
DEUXIEME PARTIE : Réflexions sur une expérience		
1. Expérience vécue.....	p.	27-28
2. Expérience unilatérale		
1- Bilinguisme.....	p.	28-34
2- Biculturalisme.....	p.	35-43
3. Expérience empirique.....	p.	43-47
4. Les conclusions de notre expérience		
1) L'université bilingue.....	p.	48-51
2) Bilinguisme et biculturalisme au Canada	p.	52-56
3) Sens de la recherche du biculturalisme et du bilinguisme au Canada.....	p.	56-64
4) Nécessité immédiate d'abandonner l'empirisme.....	p.	64-65
Conclusion.....	p.	65

TROISIEME PARTIE : Recommandations

1. Que la capitale fédérale devienne une ville véritablement bilingue.....	p. 66-69
2. Que le travail de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme soit continué de façon permanente par les universités canadiennes.....	p. 70-75
3. Que l'organisation de l'enseignement au niveau secondaire permette l'accès à l'université bilingue à égalité de chance pour tous.....	p. 75-76
CONCLUSION.....	p. 77-81

ANNEXES

ANNEXE I: La langue d'enseignement dans les diverses facultés (1964).....	p. 83
ANNEXE II: Composition du corps étudiant.....	p. 84-87
ANNEXE III: Mémoire présenté par l'Université d'Ottawa à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, lors des séances préliminaires, 8 novembre 1963....	p. 88-93
ANNEXE IV: L'Université d'Ottawa et les subsides provinciaux	
1. Discours du T.R.P. Henri Légaré, o.m.i., lors de la Collation des grades, 26 mai 1963.....	p. 94-102
2. Commentaire du <u>Toronto Star</u> , 27 mai 1963	p. 103-104
3. Bloc Note d'André Laurendeau, <u>Le Devoir</u> , 30 mai 1963.....	p. 105-107
4. Editorial de Vincent Prince, <u>La Presse</u> , 10 juin 1963.....	p. 108-109
5. Editorial du <u>Globe and Mail</u> , 30 mai 1963	p. 110-112
6. Bloc Note d'André Laurendeau, <u>Le Devoir</u> , 6 juin 1963.....	p. 113-114

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BRIEF

Presented to the Royal Commission of Enquiry

on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

by

The University of Ottawa

Ottawa, 1964

B R I E F

Presented to the Royal Commission of Enquiry
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The University of Ottawa

OTTAWA, 1964

Bytown will prove to be a most judicious site for the establishment of a college, since it is a growing town situated in the center of an ever-increasing population. Indeed, a college will solidly cement the most durable bonds among the youth of different origins and faiths and will erase the natural antipathies always so deplorable [when they exist] among the citizens of a common country.

Eugene Guigues, O.M.I.,
Bishop of Bytown,
Founder of the College
of Bytown (1848)

THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS:

1.- That the Royal Commission enquire into the most effective means of changing the City of Ottawa into a truly bilingual Capital and suggest the appropriate measures to be taken by the governments involved. Should the municipal and/or provincial administration refuse to co-operate in this undertaking, let the Commission recommend the creation of a Federal District; in which case the University would most strongly urge the Central Government to exert all its power to safeguard the vested rights of the French Canadians of Ontario.

2.- That the Royal Commission's enquiry be continued permanently by the universities of Canada under the direction of a co-ordinating committee appointed by the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges; and that the universities engaged in such research or in practical experiments in bilingualism and biculturalism be specially assisted through adequate government financial aid.

3.- That all provinces, and more particularly Ontario, admit the use of French as the language of instruction in all subjects of the programs of High Schools, including the last year, Grade XIII.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
EXPLANATORY NOTE: Bilingualism and Biculturalism . .	6
PART ONE : History of Bilingualism and Biculturalism at the University of Ottawa	10
1. First Phase: 1848-1874	10
2. Second Phase: 1874-1900	13
3. Third Phase: 1900-1915	14
4. Fourth Phase: 1915-1945	18
5. Fifth Phase: Present State of Bilingualism .	19
6. Students' Associations and Extra-Curricular Activities	21
7. The Association of Professors of the University of Ottawa	22
8. The University of Ottawa Alumni Association	23
9. The University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants	24
Conclusion	25
PART TWO : Commentary on an Experience	29
1. A Continuing Experience	29
2. A Unilateral Experience	30
1- Bilingualism	30
2- Biculturalism	37
3. An Empirical Experience	45
4. Conclusions drawn from our Experience . . .	50
1- The Bilingual University	50
2- Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada	54
3- Scope of this Research	59
4- Urgent Necessity of Discarding Empiricism	67
Conclusion	67

PART THREE : Recommendations	69
1. A Truly Bilingual National Capital	69
2. The Continuing Contribution of Canadian Universities	73
3. Equal opportunity for High School Training for Bilingual University Education	78

CONCLUSION	80
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Language of Instruction in various Faculties, 1964	87
APPENDIX II: Composition of the Student Body .	88
APPENDIX III: Brief	92
APPENDIX IV: The University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants	98
1. Convocation Address, Reverend Henri Légaré, O.M.I., May 26, 1963.	98
2. Editorial, <u>Toronto Star</u> , May 27, 1963 .	107
3. Bloc Note, André Laurendeau, <u>Le Devoir</u> , May 30, 1963	109
4. Editorial, Vincent Prince, <u>La Presse</u> , June 10, 1963	112
5. Editorial, <u>Globe and Mail</u> , May 30, 1963	114
6. Bloc Note, André Laurendeau, <u>Le Devoir</u> , June 6, 1963	117

INTRODUCTION

The University of Ottawa holds that it possesses a special claim to a hearing by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. For more than one hundred years the University has lived through an experience of bilingualism with unfailing honesty, endeavouring to carry out, at the same time, experiments in biculturalism in those fields that prove to be equally most difficult and most rewarding, higher studies and intellectual culture. The generation of those in whose hands its destinies now rest and whose hopes for the future spring from past successes enjoyed and disappointments overcome, trust that they may advance the aims of the Commission by their living testimony. 1

We could, of course, have undertaken a number of technical studies on many points of interest to the Commission. This type of collaboration we have already given by relieving some of our professors of their academic duties in order that they might devote themselves to the Commission's specific requirements. The slenderness of our resources—the penalty paid for our fidelity to the ideal of biculturalism as we understand it—made it impossible for us to meet all your requests. Our brief, however, is essentially the account of an unique, living experience. Bilingualism and biculturalism have always been integral parts of our aspirations, our joys and our daily concerns. Like all universities, we are primarily dedicated to an ideal of humanistic and scientific culture, we strive to serve our country by training its youth for future leadership and we endeavour modestly to contribute to the cause of international intellectual collaboration. But these lofty aims of our Institution bear the stamp of a 2

linguistic and cultural dualism that, through a long tradition, has become the most striking trait of our life and our image. Bilingualism and biculturalism permeate our whole existence and press upon us with all their weight. They stand out in relief on the institutional image that we present to the eyes of the Canadian people as well as those of public administrations. The singularity of this enduring ideal explains in great part the praises and criticism that criss-cross the pattern of the University's self-imposed mission.

With no apologies, we hail the Founders of our Institution as true pioneers. Unheeded prophets in their time, they anticipated the essential conditions of an authentic Canadianism and, joining the practice to the ideal, they were the precursors of all those who today put their faith in the work of the Royal Commission. Precisely because of the affinity between our present convictions, the vision of our Founders and the purpose of the Commission, we are deeply conscious that the very life of the University is strongly linked to the survival of Canada and will be conditioned by the acceptance or rejection by the Canadian people of the most important fact of our national history, the meeting on one soil of the French and the Anglo-Saxon cultures. The success of the Commission in fulfilling its mandate is of vital interest to us. 3

Furthermore, the University of Ottawa was founded and is still directed by members of the Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the same religious order which conducts almost entirely alone the missionary work of the Catholic Church among the Indians and Eskimos of Canada's Northwest. This same missionary activity has, concurrently, advanced to a large degree the self-knowledge of Canada in its geographic and human reality. Our collective concern thus embraces the whole of our country. 4

It is by virtue of these facts that we are especially 5
qualified to stand before the Royal Commission on Bilin-
gualism and Biculturalism.

This brief has been prepared by a special committee 6
constituted for this purpose. A tentative outline was
first submitted to the critical appraisal of all full-time
professors and members of the top levels of the Administra-
tion all of whom were constantly kept informed during the
elaboration of the report. The final text has officially
been approved by the Council of Administration of the
University.

There are three parts to the brief: (a) an historical 7
survey of bilingualism and biculturalism at the University
of Ottawa; (b) an evaluation of this experience and its
pertinent application to the whole Canadian population;
(c) some appropriate recommendations suggested by this
experience.

EXPLANATORY NOTE : Bilingualism and Biculturalism

At the outset it is advisable that we clarify the meaning of the terms bilingualism and biculturalism as they are used in this brief. Both these terms will enclose the idea of culture. In connexion with the Commission's enquiry, culture must not be taken to mean primarily the whole and harmonious human development considered as an ideal to be pursued, a summit to be reached.¹ This view is too limited if biculturalism is to be considered as a problem that concerns the whole Canadian people and not merely the intellectual class. In the context which we have adopted culture refers rather to a complete way of life, the aggregate of rational and emotional attitudes, traditions, settled habits and customs, even of prejudices, that develop gradually in any human group and give it a character all its own. This character affects all aspects of life: personal, domestic, social, political, economic, intellectual, artistic and religious.

The mother-tongue is a component part of this way of life. It is the natural framework into which are molded at birth all the other elements of culture, impressing its own stamp upon them and instinctively supporting them. The mother-tongue is the natural vehicle of one's thought, the adequate expression of one's true self and the normal means of stating one's view of the world with all the spontaneously perceived nuances or shadings. A long practice of bilingualism leads, it is true, to the discovery that

¹ Almost all dictionaries give only this meaning: "The training, development and refinement of mind, tastes and manners; the condition of being thus trained and refined; the intellectual side of civilization" (Oxford); "Culture des lettres, des sciences, des beaux-arts" (Littré); "Développement de certaines facultés de l'esprit par des exercices intellectuels appropriés" (Robert).

certain shades of meaning are better rendered by certain untranslatable expressions of the secondary language. Thus, raison d'être has been fully adopted by the English language and melting-pot by the French; but these are exceptional cases. Still more uncommon is the case of a person who can either think in English or think in French, indifferently. More commonly, the mother-tongue is an inseparable, integral part of the total culture.

Language plays another prominent part, the practical 10 importance of which is enormous and which first comes to mind in any discussion of bilingualism, namely, as a means of communicating with others. Here, language still remains the vehicle of personal culture, but it now becomes the means of establishing mutual understanding with other people. It is conceivable that a Frenchman and an Englishman might prefer to talk with each other in Italian, should better communication be achieved in this idiom, foreign to both. The error of a translator who expressed the French demandeur by to demand in a recent memorandum of the Quebec Government to the Federal Authorities was a source of great mirth among us and, still more, the shrill protests that this oversight raised in certain quarters. In a so-called bilingual milieu, such occurrences often bring merriment in one's daily life. No lasting harm is done. A jot of humour is all that is needed to relish the zest in such lapses; provided, of course, that a sufficient knowledge of both languages enables one to recognize them for what they are. In any event, the use of a good dictionary will soon set one right.

The real conundrums appear when attempts are made to 11 render université by university, collège by college and nation by nation. He who believes that he has resolved the irreducible dualism of thought by the eye-catching

symmetry of words labours under a delusion that no dictionary can dispel. In the same way, it is deceptive to call a Canadien français a French-speaking Canadian. An Anglo-Canadian might master the intricacies of the French language so well that he could be said to be a French-speaking Canadian, but he would not have become a French Canadian in the process and, most probably, would have no desire to be one. The reverse is equally true. Indeed, perfect bilingualism could possibly be discovered among the extremists of either group.

Bilingualism as used in this brief will refer, therefore, to the use of the French and the English languages as means of communication; biculturalism, to the duality of the French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian cultures, the language itself constituting a whole with the other elements of culture understood as the totality of a way of life. 12

As we employ the expression Anglo-Canadian in contradistinction to French Canadian, we are fully aware that we are dealing with a group less than completely homogeneous. But, despite numerous differences as to racial origin, religion, etc., they are Canadians who share in a common view of Canada and in the evaluation of the place that should be given to the French culture in our country. The majority of these Anglo-Canadians see no reason why the French language and culture should receive special treatment at the hands of the Canadian society. In their eyes Quebec is the same as any other province, and French-Canadian groups in other provinces are not entitled to any privileged consideration. 13

Certainly, this Anglo-Canadian group is in no way monolithic. It comprises many shades and even differences of opinion with regard to Canada. For this reason, all 14

general statements made here should be interpreted in the light of our awareness of this diversity. And we are also equally conscious of the undeniable evolution that is taking place at the present time in this majority of the Canadian population.

PART ONE : History of Bilingualism and Biculturalism
at the University of Ottawa.¹

1. First Phase : Symmetrical Bilingualism, 1848-1874.

The University of Ottawa was founded in 1848 under 15
the name of College of Bytown by Bishop Eugene Guigues,
O.M.I. The Bishop's aim was to bring the advantages of
secondary education to the newly formed Catholic diocese
entrusted to his care. The Institution was intended to
provide the Catholic youth with an intellectual training
that would open the door for them to the professional
careers and the public service on a par with their
compatriots of other faiths.² The population of the
Diocese being made up of French Canadians ("les Canadiens"
in the parlance of the time) and Anglo-Canadians, the new
college had, perforce, to be bilingual. English-speaking
Catholics, it is true, could very well enrol in the
recently established Regiopolis College at Kingston, and
the French could send their children to one of the
classical colleges of Lower Canada. In either case, the

1 Our main source for this historical survey is Gaston CARRIERE, O.M.I.,
Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats
de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada, Ottawa, University of Ottawa
Press, 1957- , 5 vols. to date. Off-print, L'Université d'Ottawa,
1848-1860, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1960, 94 p. We were
permitted to consult the manuscript of chapters which carry this
history to 1900. It is obvious that some episodes in the life of the
University are not yet proper subjects of historical research. Their
proximity to our own time requires a prudence and discretion that
will be easily understood.

2 "Une maison en bois pour servir de collège qui est mon unique
ressource pour obtenir quelques vocations ecclésiastiques et
répandre parmi les catholiques l'instruction qu'ils ont trop négligée
et dont les protestants se servent pour les opprimer et les
mépriser!" Archives of La Propagation de la Foi de Paris, File no.
F.182; also G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 11, note 19.

The reference to the recruiting of the clergy indicates a real
preoccupation on the part of the Bishop, but not, it would seem, his
primary purpose on founding the College. In this quotation he
stresses this factor since he is asking for financial aid from the
Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

remoteness of the institution presented almost insuperable difficulties to an impecunious population. But, more serious still, all the available institutions were unilingual, Regiopolis being English and the Lower Canadian colleges, French; while the local people needed a sound knowledge of both.¹ Strictly speaking, the young Anglo-Canadians could do with English alone without too much inconvenience, but the Bishop believed that they should also be given the opportunity of learning French. In short, English was absolutely necessary to the French Canadians if they were to prosper. Historical sources indicate that Bishop Guigues wanted first to answer their needs, but also that he was not unmindful of the English-speaking members of his flock.²

1 G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 68-69.

2 Many references could be adduced in support of this statement.

However, correspondence relating to this matter must be taken as a whole. Single quotations might be quite misleading. When Bishop Guigues writes to French-Canadian members of the Union Government he naturally stresses the importance of the College for "les Canadiens". Thus, in a letter to the Hon. J.H. Lafontaine: "Je me borne simplement à vous dire en particulier et confidentiellement que ce collège a été fondé dans l'intérêt du Bas-Canada plutôt que dans celui du Haut-Canada. Les usages et la langue française disparaissaient entièrement de cette partie de la province. Un collège seul pouvait arrêter ce qui à mes yeux était un véritable malheur." Archives of the Archdiocese of Ottawa, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 1, p. 78-79; G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 62, note 7. But letters of the Bishop confide the same thought to other correspondents. On other occasions he laid stress on the rights of Catholics. (See G. CARRIERE, ibid., p. 66.) Elsewhere, aid is sought on the strength of the education provided for English-speaking Canadians. Thus, Father Tabaret in 1854 (cf. G. CARRIERE, ibid., p. 67). However, the interests of French Canadians and of the French language are foremost in all communications. They are even used to uphold a claim on the revenues of the University of Toronto: "... ne serait-il pas convenable qu'en retour le seul établissement sur le Haut-Canada qui enseigne le français, reçût aussi quelque encouragement de cette partie de la province, puisque surtout les fonds considérables provenant de l'Université de Toronto sont à la disposition du gouvernement et que la dernière loi concernant l'Université lui a permis de répartir ces revenus sur les divers établissements du haut Canada." (Letter to Sir Geo.-E. Cartier, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 6, p. 89, and G. CARRIERE, ibid., p. 82.) The Bishop requests that the same treatment which is enjoyed by the English of Lower Canada be afforded "les Canadiens" of Upper Canada (G. CARRIERE, ibid., p. 75). Recently, the University of Ottawa collaborated in the Brief presented to the Royal Commission by l'Association canadienne-française d'Éducation d'Ontario and which sets out clearly that this equality of

Furthermore, the new College would also welcome 16
students of other faiths; for Roman Catholics were not
the sole object of his concern. The breadth of his vision
embraced the whole Union of the two Canadas:

Bytown will prove to be a most judicious site for
the establishment of a college, since it is a growing
town situated in the center of an ever-increasing
population. Indeed, the college will solidly cement
the most durable bonds among the youth of different
origins and faiths and will erase the natural antipathies
always so deplorable [when they exist] among the citizens
of a common country.¹

These goals were clearly formulated from the very 17
beginning and would later become the grounds adduced in
support of applications for public financial aid, for the
incorporation of the College, for obtaining a university
charter, first from the Union Government and, later, from
the Holy See.²

The College was launched with this ideal in mind. 18
The teaching staff, made up mostly of Oblates from France
and French Canada, also included English-speaking teachers.
All spoke both languages and the teaching was fiercely
bilingual: English was used exclusively in the morning
and only French in the afternoon.³ All students were bound
by this system of strict equality. At the start, one-half
of the student body were French Canadians and among the
fifty per cent of Anglo-Canadians sat a few protestants.
Bilingualism marked all public functions. This thoroughly
symmetrical bilingualism was in force from 1848 to 1874.

treatment for the minorities in each province was one of the essential
conditions agreed upon for Confederation.

1 Letter to the Ordnance, Régistre des Lettres, vol. 1, p. 9.

2 In this last case, the interests of the English-speaking Catholics
will be emphasized in order to forestall objections from Laval
University. Already opposed to the project of a university at
Montreal, Laval University opposed the request of the University of
Ottawa to the Holy See.

3 Public oral examinations were held at which protestant ministers
were invited to be members of the jury.

2. Second Phase : Proportionate Bilingualism, 1874-1900.

1874 was a turning-point in the University's develop- 19
ment. Until that time the curriculum had closely followed
that of the Lower Canadian classical colleges with only
minor modifications. Now, for practical reasons and under
the influence of the Anglo-Canadian system, the programs
underwent a substantial change as they were better adapted
to the actual needs of the students. The University's
ideal of intellectual culture had diverged somewhat from
the classical model.¹

At the same time, French as the language of instruc- 20
tion suffered a setback. Latin, Greek, Mathematics and
all the science courses would be taught only in English
to all the students. French courses, still compulsory
for all, would be given at two levels: a more advanced
program for the French Canadians and elementary and inter-
mediate courses better adapted to the capabilities of
English-speaking students. Courses in religion, identical
in content, were offered separately to the two groups.
The reason for these changes was simple: the racial com-
plexion of the University had altered considerably and the
number of English-speaking teachers had increased, although
the majority were still of French expression. The decisive
factor was the change that had taken place in the student
body, because of the affluence of Americans. Only one-
third of the students were now of French extraction and
most of those who came from Quebec had chosen Ottawa for
the purpose of learning English.

1 These modifications in the programs will be analysed more fully
in Part Two of this brief. Cf. infra, p. 38-39.

This shift from a radical bilingualism to a proportionate predominance of English did not spell the rejection of the original ideal. The University maintained its official bilingualism in all the services of the administration, in all public functions, receptions, celebrations and convocations.¹ 21

Nevertheless, this move did not rally unanimous approval, most of the opposition coming from the French-Canadian teachers.² As for public and student reactions, no known documentary evidence throws any light on the subject. 22

3. Third Phase : Return to Bilingual Teaching, 1900-1915. 23

Once more, the changing complexion of the student body dictated a change of course. The majority were still English-speaking, but there had been a steady increase of French Canadians due, in a large measure, to the growth of the Juniorate of the Sacred-Heart, a house of studies set up near the University campus by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate for the training of future members of the Order and whose students (mostly from Quebec) were enrolled in the University courses. At the persistent

1 The calendars of 1874 and 1875 were published only in English; that of 1876 in both languages. After this date only one was published in English. In 1893, a French outline of courses was distributed among the Franco-Americans in New England. In 1888, a review, The Owl, began publication in English and, after 1898, continued under the title The University of Ottawa Review until 1915. La Revue littéraire was published from 1901 to 1916.

2 It is not yet possible to determine with certainty who was responsible for this change in policy. Father Tabaret, called the Second Founder of the University, had elaborated the new programs but was reluctant to change the linguistic system. G. Carrière has found certain evidence tending to show that the final decision was imposed by the Provincial Superior of the Order.

request of the Juniorate, a system of parallel sections, English and French, was established in 1900. Both languages remained compulsory subjects of study according to the formula adopted in 1874 and mathematics and the sciences were taught in English even in the French Section. Henceforth, the University's calendar would be published in both languages and the bilingualism of the Administration would be constantly affirmed. To make the new scheme work, it devolved upon the teaching staff, on which the number of French Canadians had greatly increased among the French-speaking group, to double its work-load so as to insure parallel bilingual instruction.

The responses to this reform were not clear-cut. 24
It seems that, at first, the students readily accepted the new arrangements; but, a few years later, there were some clamorous manifestations stirred up by certain groups extraneous to the University and abetted by a clique of its own professors. Indeed, since the beginning of the discussions that finally led to the reform, the very principle of bilingualism had been disputed by some members of the staff and rejected by the more vocal English-speaking Catholics of the Ottawa region. Once definitely established the new dualism provoked a storm of protest whose intensity was to grow apace during the following years. The claims of the unilinguists rested on the alleged need of the English-speaking Catholics for a university of their own, exclusively English and run by men of their own race and mentality. Why could not the University of Ottawa be at their service in the same way that Laval, in Quebec, served the interests of French Catholics? The retort from the other side set forth the original aims of the Founders which were now capable of some form of fulfillment. The increasing needs of the

French Canadians of the Ottawa region for a bilingual university were also stressed. In Quebec one could afford to be exclusively French; in Toronto one could be content with only English; but, in Ottawa, a bilingual education was indispensable.¹

A long drawn out controversy carried the dispute, 25 which was not altogether devoid of violent incidents, before the general public.² Nonetheless, the system of parallel sections was maintained, but the exodus of the English-speaking Oblate professors was complete by 1915. Their leaving deprived the University of many capable teachers and emphasized, in the eyes of Anglo-Canadians, the French School character of the Institution despite its avowed bilingualism.³

1 The services rendered by the University to the English-speaking Catholics have already been mentioned as the reasons adduced in order to obtain a charter from the Holy See. The documents of that time were exhumed to buttress the thesis of the unilinguists which had already received some support from the Oblates who had come from France. The French-Canadian teachers, alone, were determined to maintain the University as a bilingual institution in conformity with the bilingual character of the Canadian homeland and of the Ottawa region, in particular. The fact that it was situated in the National Capital seems to have appealed only to them. For their opponents, Laval could cater to the needs of French Canadians. English enjoyed exclusive rights outside Quebec. Such unilingual provincialisms were taken as a matter of course. Bilingualism was useless.

2 A SEARCHLIGHT, Showing the Need of a University for the English-Speaking Catholics of Canada, (1906), 48 p.

A SEARCHLIGHT, Deux extraits d'un étrange mémoire irlandais au sujet de l'Université d'Ottawa, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 4 (1909-1910), p. 123-131.

A SEARCHLIGHT (French translation), in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 5 (1910-1911), p. 173-185.

University of Ottawa, Mémoire sur le projet de transformer l'Université d'Ottawa en université de langue anglaise exclusivement, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 5 (1910), p. 86-95.

Anonymous (Simard, Georges, O.M.I.), L'Université d'Ottawa. I. Histoire du passé. II. L'Orientation de l'avenir, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 5, p. 174-187; 263-291.

SIMARD, Georges, O.M.I., L'Université d'Ottawa, in La Nouvelle-France, vol. 14 (1915), p. 159-169; 206-217; 242-255.

University of Ottawa, Un mémoire présenté en 1901 au Supérieur général des Oblats et au Délégué apostolique. Les Signatures, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 7 (1911), p. 16-31.

University of Ottawa, La Réponse de Mgr Dunand au mémoire irlandais, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vol. 7, p. 81-98; 161-176.

3 It will be seen later that this observation is not to be read as imputing any blame, cf. infra, p. 54-55.

The significance of these events cannot be grasped without some knowledge of their historical setting. This was a time when the French Canadians believed themselves to be the victims of an organized propaganda tending to show that their attachment to their mother-tongue was detrimental to the expansion of Catholicism on the irreversibly English-speaking continent of North America.¹ The prevailing tone among Catholics was one of exasperation, with language as the bone of contention. This situation was aggravated by the fierce assaults of the Government of Ontario on the French schools.² Caught in the backlash of these struggles, the University of Ottawa survived with its ideal unblemished but bruised and with the efficiency of its operation greatly reduced.³ Following upon the disastrous fire of 1903, when nearly all its material plant was destroyed, this racial storm checked its development for many years.

1 During the International Eucharistic Congress, held in Montreal in 1910, Archbishop Bourne of Westminster (England) delivered an address which was understood as supporting this thesis (the Archbishop later denied this interpretation). The retort was given him by Henri Bourassa and received wide dissemination. (See XXI^e Congrès eucharistique international, Montreal, Beauchemin, 1911, p. 150-153; 161-167). French-language periodicals denounced the insidious takeover by the Irish of Catholic organizations founded by French Canadians and of the diocesan sees; v.g. J.L. LAFLAMME, A l'assaut des institutions canadiennes-françaises, in La Revue Franco-Américaine, vols. 3, 4, 5, a long series of articles bearing this title. In vol. 4 (1909), the author analyses the situation at the University of Ottawa. In 1910, Archbishop Charles Hughes Gauthier of Kingston was transferred to the archdiocese of Ottawa. His French name notwithstanding, he was an Anglo-Canadian by his mother-tongue and mentality. French-speaking Catholics, who were the majority in the diocese, were rather irritated by this appointment.

2 In January 1910, the French Canadians of Ontario held their first Conference on Education during which was born L'Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario. The iniquitous Regulation XVII which practically prohibited the use of French in Ontario schools was adopted in June 1912.

3 The first English-speaking Oblates to leave the University were transferred from Ottawa because of the active part that they took in the elections to the Separate School Board. English-speaking students at the University went on strike in protest against their "banishment".

4. Fourth Phase : Parallel Bilingualism, 1915-1945.

The full system of parallel courses adopted in 1900 27
was maintained until 1945. French Canadians formed the
majority in the teaching staff and the language ratio in
the student body was reversed through the influx of
students from Quebec, many of whom were lured by the
advantage of learning English in a bilingual environment.
Soon the bilingualism of the University served a majority
of French Canadians and a minority of English-speaking
Canadians and some Americans. Courses in the second
language, however, remained compulsory for all.

It must be said that the system of parallelism was 28
not absolute. English was the language of instruction in
the sciences and mathematics, even in the French Section.
Two reasons motivated this exception: first, Ontario and
Franco-American students had studied these subjects in
English throughout High School and found it difficult to
adapt themselves to the French scientific vocabulary upon
entering university; secondly, the majority of our Quebec
students were drawn here by their desire to acquire a good
working knowledge of English. The removal of the French
alternative in this field insured that they would per-
severe in their purpose even in the face of difficulties.
This practice was discontinued in 1949 (at least, in the
faculties of Arts and Social Sciences) in order to integrate
this important sphere of knowledge in the intellectual
training of French-Canadian students; for the habit of
thinking and expressing oneself only in English results
in making the sciences something marginal to their
culture.

In 1927, St. Patrick's College was established in 29
Ottawa by the English-speaking Oblates. The new Institution

immediately received good support from Catholics of English expression, and a good number of students enrolled in its High School and College. Many, however, still preferred the University and, thus, the bilingual character of the latter was preserved. The relations between the two institutions were often strained in the early days, but an acceptance of the principle of co-existence gradually prevailed. At the present time, St. Patrick's College enjoys a large autonomy within the University of which it is an integral part. The management of the School of Social Welfare of the University of Ottawa, now held in high repute, is vested in the College. It is unilingual, the administration and teaching being conducted in English, exclusively.¹

5. Fifth Phase : Present State of Bilingualism.

The creation of a Faculty of Medicine in 1945 raised 30
a thorny problem in the matter of bilingualism. It was clear from the outset that the heavy costs involved precluded the possibility of parallel courses. It was then for sound practical reasons that the decision was reached to restrict instruction to the English language with the exception of Medical Ethics which was offered in both languages.² The administration of the Faculty would, however, be strictly bilingual.

This decision did not meet with universal approval. 31
Criticism was voiced in various French-Canadian circles. The mistrust in which the Faculty of Medicine was held was extended to the whole of the University which was subjected

1 The University of Ottawa reserved the right to establish a bilingual School of Social Welfare on its own campus.

2 Other minor courses, such as psychology, were also doubled.

to a close, unwarranted scrutiny. In the eyes of many it suddenly appeared as a tool of anglicization for young French Canadians. Concern, suspicion and censures burst into the open when the late Pierre Vigeant of the Montreal daily Le Devoir wrote a series of articles (November 2 to 6, 1948) attacking the policy of the University. These five articles were the opening guns of a noisy controversy. Over a period of two years, Vigeant periodically returned to the attack, using every opportunity to inveigh against what he thought was the University's will to pursue a policy of anglicization. Other journalists of Le Devoir and various French-Canadian associations followed suit; but the University also had its champions.¹

Inasmuch as this phase of our development is still 32
too recent to make possible an historically objective record, we shall forgo any apology for, or vindication of, the adopted policy. The compromise-solution resorted to in 1945 is still in force. The ideal of parallelism has not been discarded, but it can only be applied within the bounds of possibility.

The Faculty of Pure and Applied Science, established 33
in 1953, presented the same linguistic difficulty. An identical, provisional solution was adopted without producing any unfavourable reaction. Nine years later, it became feasible to introduce some measure of parallel bilingualism in the general courses, and this was done despite the extra work with which bilingual lecturers were burdened and notwithstanding the increased expenditure.

The recent emergence of nationalism in Quebec has 34
again called the role of the University of Ottawa into

1 The registration of French-Canadian students has suffered no setback from these attacks. On the contrary, it increased at a normal rate from year to year.

question from time to time in the form of renewed attacks but, more often as an illustration of the futility of all efforts to make bilingualism work; for such efforts, it is claimed, only result in forging new tools of anglicization for the French Canadians. Some friction also developed between the two groups in the student body in feeble imitation of separatist demonstrations, but such incidents were few in number and of minor importance and constituted something of a novelty in a setting where their frequent occurrence might more readily have been expected. The relations between the two ethnic groups have rather been characterized by harmony, mutual understanding and a wholesome competition.

6. Students' Associations and Extra-Curricular Activities.

Extra-curricular activities, plays, public-speaking, 35 etc., made their appearance on the campus at an early date. Documents of the time concerning these educational aspects bear eloquent testimony to a genuine concern for the preservation of their bilingual character. In 1857, two plays, Les Fourberies de Scapin and William Tell were produced on the same evening. A society for the production of plays and practice of public-speaking, certainly established before 1883, comprised two sections, each having its own council but with one director and one stage manager acting for both. In 1883, the two sections separated to become The English Debating Society and the Société des discussions françaises du Collège d'Ottawa, commonly called La Société des Débats français. The two societies organized parallel public-speaking contests and theatrical productions. The Drama Guild and La Société dramatique took over the theatrical productions in 1953.

The Students' Union of the University of Ottawa

36

evolved slowly to its present state. In 1934-35, there was established a Local Council of the National Federation of Canadian University Students. Two years later it was officially called the Students' Council; in 1943-44, The Students' Federation of the University of Ottawa and, last year, The Students' Union. These successive councils have always adhered to a strict bilingualism. An adequate knowledge of both languages was a condition of eligibility to the presidency and often to other posts. Recent expressions of opinion are beginning to suggest the advisability of a split into two linguistic autonomous sections. It is too soon to foretell the ultimate outcome of such discussions about students' affairs.

In 1932, La Société des Débats français launched the first student newspaper, La Rotonde, which was followed ten years later by The Fulcrum, published by The English Debating Society. Both newspapers still appear regularly as activities of the Students' Union.

37

Other particular associations have been formed within the faculties or schools. Depending upon the composition and the specific aim of the group, some are unilingual, either French or English; others are bilingual in varying degrees.

38

7. The Association of Professors of the University of Ottawa

This Association was formed in 1957 and gathers together the teachers of both ethnic groups. The Constitution provides for the equality of the two languages, English and French; but, in fact, bilingualism is rather one-sided and varies in degree according to the persons that hold office. A French-Canadian president will, as

39

always, be more spontaneously sensitive to the linguistic duality. As usual, also, written communications are drawn up in both languages because some bilingual member freely accepts to do the extra work of translating. Meetings are normally conducted in English; for remarks made in French would have to be translated if they were to exert any influence on the discussions and a member is loathe to prolong the discussion in this way even if he cannot express his thought as forcefully in English. Thus, the usual language of communication in the executive council as well as at general meetings is English.

8. The University of Ottawa Alumni Association.

This Association first appeared on the scene on June 18, 1879, through the initiative of the alumni themselves and as a tribute to Father Tabaret, the Rector, on the occasion of the solemn conferring of a Doctorate in Theology awarded to him by the Holy See. Nothing could gratify him more than an organization destined to promote the development of the young Institution to which he had dedicated his life. Bilingual by its Constitution, it did not survive the vicissitudes of the University's bilingualism already described and withered away in 1897. The Association was revived in 1923-24 under the name La Société des anciens élèves de langue française de l'Université d'Ottawa by French-speaking alumni.¹ Eight years later The Alumni Association was formed as a bilingual society which operated on a parallel course with La Société des anciens élèves de langue française. The integration of the two associations came about gradually and was finally consummated

1 The Society invariably invited an English-speaking alumnus to address its general meetings.

in 1945. In its present form, the one Association includes all the alumni divided into two sections, each having its own council but both under the supreme direction of a bilingual General Council.¹ The presidents of the two sections preside alternately over the General Council for half of their three-year term of office. The publications of the Alumni Association are bilingual.

9. The University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

The failure of the University's attempts to obtain 41
its due share of provincial financial support (notable exceptions are indicated later in this brief) has had considerable influence on the history of our bilingualism and biculturalism. From the beginning the acknowledged Catholic character of the College of Bytown stood as an allegedly insurmountable obstacle to public aid.² The same reason is invoked to this day to deny the University of Ottawa the aid which it needs on a par with the other universities of the province. It might, then, seem that the problem is linked to religion rather than to culture. However, if the concept of culture outlined at the beginning of this brief is accepted, it becomes clear that, in practice, the distinction is futile.³ Religion is integrated into the culture of a human group. It stamps the group's institutions as it characterizes its spirit. The cultural tradition of the French Canadians is Catholic in its inspiration, and denominational education is a constant of

1 Its membership numbers over 13,000 in Canada and abroad.

2 The detailed history of these frustrated attempts is given in G. CARRIERE, L'Université d'Ottawa, p. 59-94.

3 See above, Explanatory Note, p. 6.

this tradition.¹ This view of education might be challenged today by some French Canadians, but this is an argument in which the non-French have no part. The direction in which French culture evolves in Canada is a matter to be determined by the French Canadians, alone. Other Canadians ought to accept it, such as it is, whether they like it or not. The Province of Ontario has always refused, and still refuses, to recognize this totality of French-Canadian culture, so precious to the Franco-Ontarian's soul.

The present situation of the University boils down 42 to this: federal grants are received on a par with other Canadian universities, but provincial financial support is available only for the faculties of Medicine and Science, an exception which only serves to confirm the rule set by official policy.²

Conclusion.

Such is the history of bilingualism and biculturalism 43 at the University of Ottawa. This dualism is, at once, the life-force and the bane of our Institution. But we remain bound to it by our vision of the Canadian homeland and the ethnic complexion of the population that we desire to serve. To drop it would be to renounce our educational aims. It shall be carried forward, although we know the extent to

1 The same observation applies equally to English-speaking Catholics whose tradition coincides with that of the French Canadians on this point. This idea is forcibly developed by André Laurendeau in Le Devoir, May 30 and June 6, 1963, precisely in connexion with the situation of the University of Ottawa. Cf. Appendix IV, p. 109-111 and 117-118.

2 The motives for these exceptions were pragmatic: the urgent post-war need for more doctors in the province and the panic caused on the North-American continent by the dearth of engineers and scientists in the face of the great advances made by Russia. The University does not admit the validity of Premier Robarts' recent attempt to rationalize these exceptions on the grounds that these faculties were considered "as non-denominational facets of the University of Ottawa".

which it has complicated the internal life of the University in the past and, failing to be understood by the population of Ontario, has often caused the Institution to be branded as rather "odd" because of its inexplicable, obstinate refusal to conform with the more convenient, simpler, standardized model. The history of the University of Ottawa clearly shows the paradox of the truly Canadian life. On the one hand, its bilingual character could not be preserved unless its administration was concentrated almost exclusively in French-Canadian hands and, for this, it was labelled a French School; on the other hand any small departure from the exorbitantly onerous system of parallelism brought forth accusations of treason from the French element.

Another aspect of this history must not be ignored. 44
Up to this point, we have reported only the outstanding facts and significant dates. We have told it as it could have been seen superficially from the outside. But it would be misleading to leave it at that. If our history faithfully reflects the paradoxical character of the Canadian society, it can also throw into relief the human riches available to those who dare take up the challenge presented by this paradox.

Among the Franco-Ontarians, many have found at the 45
University of Ottawa an unique opportunity of pursuing their secondary and college education in their mother-tongue while their knowledge of English was improved at the same time. For them, of course, the need to be bilingual is not a debatable point. It is a fact of life, and as much can be said of many other segments of the French-Canadian population. The University has provided them with the means to meet that need. More, not a few, upon whom their childhood environment had exerted an anglicizing influence, recovered

the spontaneous use of French as their normal medium of communication. Others, it is true, turned towards Quebec's unilingual institutions either because of their distrust of a bilingual education for a proper knowledge of French or for other reasons.

On the other hand, an ever-increasing number of youths from Quebec enrolled at Ottawa, attracted as much by the bilingual character of the University as by its program of studies. Social intercourse with English-speaking Canadians was a new experience for most of them. Their pragmatic desire to become bilingual was rewarded with a more enriching advantage. They became really aware of the bicultural character of the Canadian homeland. The other ethnic group emerged from the anonymous mass, that they were wont to label collectively "the English," and appeared as individual human beings of whom one could make friends. 46

The English-speaking students who attended the University of Ottawa yield a different story. A rather limited number became truly bilingual. It must be admitted that the University was not as insistent in their case as in that of the French Canadians, except during the early years. True, they were not animated by an equal desire to be bilingual, but this lack of personal motivation could perhaps have been met more forcefully.¹ Nonetheless, like their French-Canadian classmates, the young English Canadians were awakened on our campus to the full realization of the Canadian duality. We have already stressed the almost complete absence of conflict between the two groups, but we must go further and affirm that the sharing in a common everyday life was an enriching experience for all, an experience in mutual understanding and genuine esteem between the members of the two groups. 47

1 More will be said on this point in the Second Part.

The evolution in the thinking of a large number of 48
our students is quite noticeable. Many come to us imbued
with the typical prejudices and preconceptions of the
exclusively French-speaking and English-speaking areas of
the country, but the normal human contacts of student-life
gradually lead them to a more adult attitude. Each accepts
the other for what he is, either because he realizes that
the other will not change or, more frequently, because he
discovers that there is some good in the other way of
being Canadian.

The same beneficial effects were produced among the 49
teaching staff. Many French Canadians became more fluently
bilingual and so did some English-speaking professors,
though on a much smaller scale. As was said before,
meetings that bring the two groups together are, more
generally, conducted in English to the understandable
annoyance of the French Canadians present. The majority
of the latter, however, yield gracefully to the force of
circumstances. Like the students, the professors of both
groups learn to accept one another, to appreciate one
another and to acknowledge that the Canadian homeland is
all the richer for its twofold way of being a Canadian.

Notwithstanding the occasional clash that is 50
inevitable in such situations, we believe that the results
achieved throughout the life of the University have proven
of great benefit to those who lived it and to Canada as a
nation.

PART TWO : Commentary on an Experience.

The experience of bilingualism and biculturalism at 51
the University of Ottawa, as just described, leads
naturally to certain observations and conclusions likely
to prove of some use to the Royal Commission. We shall,
therefore, endeavour to evaluate this history as an
experiment in Canadian higher education and also as a
model after which a similar experiment might be patterned
on a national scale. With this in mind, the question
will be studied from three points of view, namely, as a
continuing experience, a unilateral experience and an
empirical experience. Practical conclusions will follow.

1. A Continuing Experience.

When we say that ours has been a continuing 52
experience we wish to stress that the University was not
deliberately set up as a laboratory-type, closely observed
experiment in bilingualism and biculturalism. True, we
have constantly and consciously fostered this dualism,
because it forced itself upon us, but also because we
wanted it. Like all other similar institutions in the
world, the University was founded and has developed primarily
as a center of higher learning. This is the first purpose
of its existence; and the fulfillment of this end, above
all else, inspired the elaboration and evolution of its
programs, the orientation of its research and the recruiting
of its teachers. A second purpose also exerted a consider-
able influence on its development; it was designed as a
Catholic institution, to serve the Catholic population of
the Ottawa region and gradually of the whole country.
Lastly, it was intended to serve and promote the cause of
bilingualism and biculturalism.

These components of a threefold purpose have not 53
always remained in a constant ratio throughout our history.
Each, in turn, required that the other two yield temporarily to its particular demands. For example, a professor would be appointed for the sake of academic excellence, even though his unilingualism might tarnish the bilingual complexion of the University. At other times, the situation was reversed and a bilingual teacher was given the preference despite his inferior qualifications. The ideal, of course, would have been to staff our faculties with bilingual teachers of undisputed competence, but the fact that our experience was necessarily unilateral often thwarted our best efforts in this direction.

2. A Unilateral Experience.

1) Bilingualism.

As a center of higher learning the present University 54
of Ottawa is the fruit of the collaboration of Canadians of all origins; as a bilingual institution, however, it is the achievement almost exclusively of French Canadians. Some professors from France and some English-speaking Canadians have made an effective contribution to our dualism, but they were so few as to permit one to state that French Canadians have practically been the sole artificers of our bilingualism. Bilingual teachers and administrators were recruited among French Canadians, with but few exceptions. Indeed, as a general rule, "bilingual" has become synonymous with "French Canadian" at the University.

Since the same situation obtains at the national 55
level, the limited possibilities of choice always make

the recruiting of teachers rather difficult. The French-Canadian population is not especially numerous and its production of university teachers is not proportionately greater than in other groups. As we search for bilingual teachers we inevitably enter into competition with Quebec's universities, Civil Service and business enterprises and often with the Federal Civil Service as well. Except in this last case, we are immediately placed at a disadvantage, for to choose the University of Ottawa involves taking up residence in a province which is officially unilingual and in which many people from Quebec feel like aliens. They are irritated by the unilingual character of the National Capital and they, also, distrust the Ontario bilingual primary school system—which, in fact, has no definite legal status—as a means of providing their children with an essentially French elementary education.¹ As long as the majority of the teaching staff were priests of the Oblate Order these conditions did not pose a too difficult problem. But the ever-growing need for lay teachers has compounded the difficulty and Quebec's so-called "quiet revolution" does not lighten our task. This awakening has opened up promising careers in all fields for Quebec university graduates. Some of our best men left for the greener pastures of their own province and the inducements that we can offer lack sufficient appeal to attract new blood.

This persistent unilateral feature of our experience 56
in bilingualism affected our dualism in many other ways. It provides the main explanation of the already described vicissitudes of our bilingualism and biculturalism. The

1 The proximity of the City of Hull, where our staff may reside, mitigates this disadvantage.

College of Bytown was primarily intended for les Canadiens of the Ottawa region and was destined mostly to serve French-Canadian interests. But les Canadiens, by themselves, could neither fill the Institution's classrooms nor meet its financial needs. By 1874 the majority of students were English-speaking. The practical consequence of this situation was the reduction of bilingualism to a bare minimum. When a system of parallel courses was instituted in 1900, this was done at the earnest instance of the increasing number of French Canadians and for their own benefit. Their staunch determination, overcoming the strong objections of the English group, restored a true bilingualism at the University and confirmed at the same time the fairly prevalent idea that bilingualism was a purely French-Canadian concern.

Notwithstanding this avowed primacy, our bilingualism 57 was never exclusive. The efforts of the University were always directed toward providing young English Canadians with the opportunity of learning French, first, through the teaching of the language but, mostly, through the strong French-Canadian flavour of the environment.¹ We must, nonetheless, confess that the interests of the French-Canadian students held first place among the pre-occupations of the University leaders with bilingualism. There were some who, like Reverend Georges Simard, O.M.I., entertained a broader and loftier ideal for the University. In their minds, bilingualism was closely woven into a grandiose vision of the role of the University at the very heart of the Canadian homeland. But, in actual practice,

1 This influence of the environment could easily be over-emphasized, for, at the University as elsewhere in Canada, it is a fact that English is the usual language of communication in any group in which the English and the French are both represented.

the needs of French Canadians generally dictated our policy with regard to bilingualism.

Moreover, our bilingualism was animated by a French- 58
Canadian spirit and marked with the French-Canadian
mentality. This explains how, at times, it evinced a
certain militancy. For the French Canadian bilingualism
was, and still is to a great extent, a tactical weapon,
seldom appreciated for itself, independently of his
mystique of survival, as a minority in Canada and on the
whole North American continent. The necessity of adapting
himself to overwhelming surroundings was counterbalanced
by his determination to react against the natural, social
forces of assimilation as well as to thwart the sporadic,
deliberately hostile schemes of English Canadians.
Bilingualism, thus, appeared to the French Canadians,
especially outside Quebec, to be a serious danger as well
as a vital necessity. The way out of the dilemma was
often to use bilingualism as a means of defining their own
proper identity by flaunting their superiority over the
unilingual English Canadian. As they learned English,
they made every effort to bring about the recognition of
bilingualism as a universal element of Canadian competence.¹

Compared with other French-Canadian organizations, 59
the University of Ottawa was relatively free from such
militancy in normal times. It catered to both segments of
the population and, hence, could not afford the luxury of
offending either. Besides, the daily collaboration with
Anglo-Canadians in a common undertaking is usually con-
ducive to a more sympathetic attitude. To deny, however,
that our bilingualism has occasionally been tinged with

¹ For example, even the most skilful parliamentarian ought not to be Speaker of the House of Commons, if he is not bilingual.

aggressiveness would be contrary to the truth. At moments of national crises or internal conflicts this disposition readily awakened. The history of our bilingualism does reveal certain periods of militancy, at least among some of its theoretical exponents. The years from 1900 to 1935 constitute such a period. At that time, French-Canadian nationalist leaders hailed us as "the main bulwark of Catholic and French thought in Ontario" (Lionel Groulx).

It is even quite possible that the unilateral character of our bilingualism possessed an inherent tendency to perpetuate itself. If so, it would have merely conformed to the typical bilingualism of the French Canadians who form the vast majority of bilingual Canadians. They are proud of that achievement and they can hardly be reproached for that pride even if they happen to parade this advantage with some ostentation. On the other hand, they complain because so few English-speaking Canadians understand and speak French, an undeniable fact. The Royal Commission will, no doubt, endeavour to uncover the causes of that fact. Some are quite apparent; others may be disclosed that are less obvious.¹ In any event, any favourable response by English-speaking Canadians to the complaints of their French compatriots would offset the latter's presumed advantage. Insofar as bilingualism is part of the French Canadian's arsenal when he competes with the other group, any Anglo-Canadian who is bilingual tends to become a dangerous rival who can meet him on his own grounds. He automatically undermines the French Canadian's feeling of superiority, since he can lay claim to an equal competence. This psychological factor should

60

¹ These obvious factors are known universally: the educational systems, the social environment, the superiority complex and ensuing complacency, the lack of practical interest.

probably be taken into account before levelling any criticism at the failure of French Canadians fully to promote bilingualism among their English-speaking fellow-Canadians. To ignore it completely would hardly be up to the mark. A question then arises that should be seriously investigated: did not historical circumstances gradually convince (at least, implicitly) the French Canadians that bilingualism is a monopoly for them to enjoy?

Evidently, this suggestion still lies in the realm 61
of pure hypothesis and, when inserted within the totality of the problem of bilingualism, might even resolve itself in a mere attempt at mind reading. We agree that it would be an over-simplification to explain by this factor, alone, the fact that the University's bilingualism, falling under the almost exclusive control of French Canadians, has mostly favoured the French Canadians. Many more important reasons explain this situation. But we should hesitate simply to dismiss the influence of this French Canadian monopolistic view of bilingualism on the enduring unilateral character of our experience. This view may have strengthened our conviction that the English-speaking students were averse to learning French and that to urge them to do so would only be a loss of time and effort. This impression, reinforced at times by the militancy of our bilingualism, might account, at least in part, for the small number of our English-speaking students who became truly bilingual.¹

Another aspect of the unilateral character of our 62
experience deserves consideration. Only the French Canadians fully enjoyed the advantages of the University's

1 The fact that any urging to learn French was done by French Canadians often produced reactions that further explain this phenomenon.

bilingualism; yet they alone were exposed to its dangers and laboured under its disadvantages, especially in those fields in which the parallel system could not be preserved. We reject out of hand the accusation that French Canadians were "anglicized" at our Institution, in the sense that their stay among us drove them to a kind of cultural and linguistic apostasy.¹ But there is no doubt that, reduced to following certain courses only in English, many French Canadians later suffered the embarrassment of being unable to express themselves easily in their mother-tongue when dealing with matters falling within that specialized field. The empiricism of our experience precludes the drawing up of pertinent statistics. The fact, itself, is incontrovertible.

Furthermore, many of our bilingual teachers—French 63
Canadians with but few exceptions—were compelled to teach in both idioms or only in English in some faculties. In either case, this situation placed them under a severe handicap in the practice of an already demanding career. So much so that many of those who teach only in English regret that they cannot express themselves as fluently in French in the very subjects of their own specialized field.

Our experience of bilingualism has, thus, been uni- 64
lateral and, in this way, it has faithfully mirrored the Canadian experience taken as a whole. We do not flaunt it as our title to fame; for it is the social climate of Canada that has made it what it is.

1 We have already said that the reverse was true in the case of many Franco-Ontarians.

2) Biculturalism.

1- Administrative Structure.

Biculturalism at the University of Ottawa has 65
been less one-sided, especially if we take a total view of
its human reality rather than focus on the structure of
its administration. At the summit, the Council of
Administration is composed exclusively of French Canadians,
at least since 1915. The total withdrawal of the English-
speaking Oblates made this exclusivism inevitable, since
appointment to the Council was reserved to members of the
Oblate Order. On the other hand, the Academic Senate has
included, more often than not in the past, a few English-
speaking members and their number is on the increase, but
French Canadians are still the majority. All but one of
the deans of faculties and directors of schools are French
for the good reason that it is always difficult to secure
the services of bilingual academics among English-speaking
Canadians.

Within the faculties, and more noticeably in Medicine 66
and Science, several departmental heads are English or New
Canadians. No set norm is followed in the constitution
of the councils of faculties and schools. The English-
speaking element is represented everywhere in proportions
that vary from one faculty to the other.

It can, therefore, be said that biculturalism is 67
visibly present at the University notwithstanding the pre-
dominance of French Canadians at the top levels of the
administrative structure.

2- Programs of Studies.

The cultural duality is still more apparent when 68
the programs of studies are examined. The University's

authorities have never tried to ram the French Canadians' culture down the Anglo-Canadians' throats neither have they countenanced confining their French-Canadian students to their own native culture. A recall of our history will serve to illustrate this point, and to this purpose it will be divided into two unequal parts: from the beginning to the end of World War II and from 1945 to the present.

From the Beginning to 1945.

At the outset, the College of Bytown followed the 69
general practice of the classical colleges of Lower Canada, more precisely the programs of the colleges of Joliette and Assomption. A first departure from the original models took place when a university charter was sought and obtained in 1866; for a classical college does not conform to the idea of a university. The great turning point, however, was the reform of 1874. Our programs diverged decisively from the Quebec model. Scientific studies were begun at an earlier stage and were given a more prominent place throughout the curriculum. A new humanism was adopted that aimed at being more universal though it be less literary. This reform proceeded from a twofold motive: a practical one, to prepare the students for professional careers in the world of commerce and technology; an ideal one, a genuine respect for the cultural values inherent in the scientific disciplines. These two points of view were rather characteristic of the English-Canadian culture. Their influence on the newly adopted conception of youth training is an indication of the pressure that the Anglo-Saxon environment was exerting on the French-Canadian mentality, through its pragmatism as well as its

intellectual trend.¹ The pressure became progressively greater. Our liberal arts program differed more and more from the traditional curriculum of the classical college. A system of options was introduced. The full course was formally divided into two stages of four years each, corresponding to the English-Canadian High School and College, respectively. The teaching of the sciences was spread over the whole of the two stages, literature remained on the program of the last two years and many other features of the Anglo-Saxon system were adopted. These modifications occasionally brought a charge of deviationism, laid upon us by certain elements in Quebec.²

From 1945 to the Present Day.

The foundation of the Faculty of Medicine in 1945 70 marked another turning-point. In the French-Canadian tradition the full program of classical studies constitutes the propaedeutics for the pursuit of higher learning and the B.A., obtained at the end of the course, is a requisite for admission to university faculties. The opening of the Medical School forced us to take another direction. We were forced to accept, at least for English-speaking students, a preparation that was more scientific than literary and philosophical,³ the more so as the unavoidable

1 It is rather amusing in our day to note the circumspection of Father Simard as he acknowledged this affinity and justified it by quoting St. Augustine who did not disapprove of the study of literature by Christians, even of the writings of the... heathens! In 1928, any borrowing from the English-Canadian culture was looked upon as a kind of treason. Cf. Georges SIMARD, O.M.I., Un Centenaire, Le Père Tabaret, O.M.I., et son oeuvre d'éducation, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1928, p. 16-17.

2 Father Simard undertook the University's defence in 1923. Cf. Georges SIMARD, O.M.I., Tradition et Evolution dans l'enseignement classique, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1923, 33 p.

3 At about the same time, similar changes were being suggested for the Quebec universities. These institutions are actually entering into a process of evolution that we have been following for many years. The North American context in which they operate made this evolution inevitable.

recruiting of English- and New-Canadian professors by this faculty was bound to foil any attempt to conduct teaching, study and research according to the French-Canadian conception alone. An identical situation arose with the foundation of the Faculty of Pure and Applied Science. In the Faculty of Law the Civil Law Section requires the B.A. from its candidates for admission in compliance with the regulations of the Quebec Bar, but graduation from college is not a requirement for admission to the Common Law Section where the English-Canadian tradition prevails. Incidentally, the Faculty of Law presents a unique accomplishment in the field of Canadian biculturalism. With the gracious approval of the Bar and the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, the University established a Faculty of Civil Law in 1953 to which was added a Section of Common Law in 1957. Obviously, the two Sections must be completely autonomous in respect of programs, teaching and research methods and languages of instruction, but they constitute a single Faculty. This arrangement is quite remarkable, but it conforms entirely with the spirit of our bilingual and bicultural University. The collaboration between the two Sections has already produced appreciable results in the field of comparative law.

More generally, the preservation of literature and philosophy in the first years of the undergraduate science courses marks the influence of the French-Canadian view of a proper humanism while the development of a system of "majors" or more specialized courses corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon practice. The recent institution of the degree of licence ès lettres by the Faculty of Arts expresses a return to the French conception in the face of the prevalent

71

run on master's degrees, so popular in the Anglo-Saxon world.¹

A true biculturalism is, thus, reflected in our programs of studies. A rational evolution has led us from the initial stage of classical college to our present state of a fairly typical Anglo-Saxon university. The term "university" does not connote in our minds the organic union of a number of professional schools as in the old Quebec tradition nor the present educational complex of Quebec, itself in full-scale evolution. Our academic framework is fashioned more after the North-American pattern of university education. Within this framework may be seen the strong French-Canadian influence that is everywhere present and is most evident in those faculties and schools concerned with the so-called humanistic disciplines. It is clear, however, that for us canadien-français is not synonymous with québécois. Our design had been to integrate into a bicultural institution situated in Ontario the best elements of both systems. We may well be satisfied with the result.

We may say, therefore, that the University of Ottawa has really lived the experience of biculturalism. Its determination to remain bilingual at all cost and open to English-Canadian students made this experience not only possible but unavoidable. These students ensured, by their mere presence on the campus, the co-existence of the two cultures and their reciprocal action upon each other. The influence that our English-speaking teachers have always exerted in our midst has been lately enhanced by the increase

1 In France, the possibility of organizing courses leading to a master's degree is being investigated so as to promote student exchanges with Anglo-Saxon countries (See Le Monde, weekly edition, No. 830, 10-16 Sept., Paris, 1964, p. 6). This degree will not be a replica of the Anglo-Saxon master's degree, neither is our licence exactly the same as the French licence. In both cases, however, there is a borrowing by one culture from the other.

in their numbers and the promotion of many to high administrative positions.

It was stated earlier that our experience of bilingualism fairly mirrored the Canadian experience. This broad statement could not be repeated without important qualifications in relation to biculturalism. On the one hand, we were far in advance of the country in the breadth and depth of this endeavour that we were the first to undertake and carry through in the area of university education. On the other hand, the non-Catholic section of the English-speaking population was always underrepresented in the student-body as well as among teachers and administrators, although the last few years have brought noticeable changes in this respect.¹ During the last twenty years many non-Catholics have come to occupy important posts in the administrative structure but not up to the level of the Council of Administration or of deans. Assuredly, no one has ever been disturbed because of his religious faith or lack of any faith; but the University, though pluralistic in fact, remains under a Catholic inspiration and expects that students and teachers alike recognize and respect its denominational character. Since religion is an integral part of culture, it must be said that the English-Canadian culture is represented by a minority group at the University.

However interesting and fruitful may have been our experience of biculturalism, it had certain limits. We do not apologize for this limitation neither do we consider that it indicates a failure. We are doing nothing more than to present a candid evaluation of that experience. The restrictions to our biculturalism were due to many causes, not the least of which was our determination to keep the University bilingual.

¹ Cf. Appendix II, p. 88-91.

Finally, there is another very special way in which 76
our experience of biculturalism has been not only limited
but altogether one-sided. In the first part of this brief
we discussed the impecunious state of this University in
the Province of Ontario and indicated how culture and
biculturalism were affected by this paucity of financial
means. This situation is traceable to one cause: the
refusal of the Ontario Government to provide aid commensurate
with our growth, with our acknowledged worthiness and even
with the future contribution that is expected of us. The
rationalization of this denial of equal treatment has
always rested upon our denominational character and leads
to only one conclusion, which is corroborated by the history
of so many struggles on behalf of bilingual schools in the
Anglo-Canadian provinces: Quebec is the only Canadian
province which practises a true biculturalism that consists
in allowing each culture to develop in its own image,
according to its own identity. Any attempt made by French
Canadians to implant their culture and live by it in other
parts of Canada has met with an arbitrary official demurrer.
Much praise is publicly lavished upon us. The following
encomium was delivered in Quebec City on June 15, 1963 by
the Hon. John Robarts, Prime Minister of Ontario:

Our history and our march forward since the time of
Champlain, Frontenac and de La Salle have been profoundly
influenced and enriched by the sons and daughters of French
Canada many of whom left their mark on, and added luster to,
the academic, cultural and spiritual life of Ontario.

This fact, among others, explains why we have like you
welcomed the appointment of a Royal Commission on bilin-
gualism and biculturalism. The interest of the population
of Ontario in an effective teaching of French has never
been so great. The people of Ontario are proud of their
bilingual institutions, such as the University of Ottawa
and Laurentian University in Sudbury. They are proud of
our bilingual Teachers' College and of our 400 bilingual
School Boards. These institutions are the means whereby
we shall establish closer contacts and means of communication
that will enable us really to know and understand one another.

1 Our translation of an excerpt from Faisons tout notre possible
pour nous unir et ne faisons rien pour nous désunir, Allocution

Less than a year later, he laid down before the 77
Legislative Assembly of Ontario the Government's policy
with regard to aid to universities:

Perhaps I should point out once again that
traditionally in this province we have not, over the whole
history of the universities in the province, supported with
provincial funds denominational universities.¹

He went on to stress the fact that the University of 78
Ottawa does not receive any exceptional consideration and
concluded with these words: "But that is the policy of the
Government and that has been the policy of successive
governments for many, many years."² The inference is
clear: the English-speaking province of Ontario can rejoice
all the more in the luster added to "the academic, cultural
and spiritual life of Ontario" by the sons and daughters
of French Canada because that contribution was made freely.
The French Canadians themselves, while they pay their pro-
portionate share of the cost of the luster provided by the
English-speaking group, must pay the whole cost of their
own contribution unless they be willing to repudiate one of
the most significant characteristics of their distinctive
culture. This policy is allegedly justified by the fact
that it has been in effect "for many, many years" in the
province.

In his Convocation address of May 26, 1963, the Very 79
Reverend Henri Légaré, O.M.I., then Rector of the University,
affirmed that there is a great difference between custom
and tradition and showed that even memorable customs must

de l'Honorable John Robarts... Château Frontenac, Québec, le 15 juin
1963, p. 1. It should be noted that the teaching of French that the
Premier seems to have in mind is likely for the benefit of Anglo-
Canadians. No mention is made of the teaching in French which is a
necessity for the Franco-Ontarians.

1 Legislature of Ontario Debates, No. 83, Thursday, April 30, 1964,
Toronto, The Queen's Printer, 1964, p. 2680.

2 Ibid.

sometimes be changed or dropped altogether in order that a tradition might live. He warned that, in Ontario, the tradition of British "Fair Play" might be threatened by legislative customs that originated in a bygone age.¹ The province is now in the process of re-examining its customs and procedures so as to adjust them to the traditional respect for human rights. The mandate of the McRuer Royal Commission enjoins that the present-day validity of all customs be questioned, even the quite memorable ones, even those that are supported by legislative acts, in order that all traces of discrimination be erased in the province. The University of Ottawa hopes that this initiative will result in a serious examination of those customs through which it is being victimized. A change of policy in this respect would greatly enhance our chances of pursuing our experience of biculturalism in a way that would be less unilateral or one-sided.

3. An Empirical Experience.

Finally, we must admit that our experience of 80
bilingualism and biculturalism was mostly empirical. Theoretically, it could be argued that our dualism should have been more rational. Placed in the situation of wanting and having to live this experience, we might have channelled the specific resources of an institution of higher learning toward the rational, scientific elaboration of a dualistic policy, even bearing in mind that this could not and must not have been our primary purpose. In point of fact, such a self-imposed task appeared to Rev. Georges Simard, O.M.I.,

1 The full text of the speech and of the editorial comments that it suggested to certain newspapers of Toronto and Montreal is given in Appendix IV of this brief, p. 98-118.

in 1935, as the main trait of our individuality among Canadian universities. The grounds upon which he based his thesis were, above all, our location in the National Capital. His observations are still pertinent in our day:

As for Ottawa—at the seat of government and the capital of a bilingual, bi-ethnic and federal state—national and juridical and political studies will be its immediate concern for a long time...

No one doubts that we have reached a critical point in our country's history. The institutions that our youth readily took for granted now present a challenge to our tardy adolescence as a nation. Our complacent belief in ideas that are vague or already exploding under the pressure of hidden implications and our indiscriminate acceptance of solutions too narrow for the growing complexity of present circumstances urge us toward a great effort to re-think our problems. (We must) revise our definitions of Canadian patriotism, Canadian bilingualism and Canadian federalism, make the edifice of our federal state more congenial in the field of present-day internationalism.

What! will we shy away from an accurate definition of what ought to be in our homeland the bilingualism of the elite, of the federal Civil Service, of the citizens of Ontario and Quebec? Will we not seek to discover whether there can exist a genuine Canadianism, fashioned by history, in the formulation of which both the French and the English particularisms would be subjoined to the essential ideal of every country, without the sacrifice of any values, without harm to either party, but affording each of the two equal national groups the opportunity of working with the other for the prosperity and greatness of Canada?¹

The University of Ottawa did not make this enticing 81
program its own. It continued to practise bilingualism to the best of its ability, according to the whimsical succession of events. Naturally, it did make some contribution to the collective thinking upon these problems, insofar as any consideration was given them on a national scale; but, on the whole, its experience bears the stamp of empiricism.

1 G. SIMARD, O.M.I., Les Universités dans l'Eglise, Ottawa, Université d'Ottawa, 1935, p. 27 (our translation). Father Simard gave much thought to these problems: v.g. Georges SIMARD, Principes et faits en histoire; Etat idéal et Etat canadien. Et séparatisme, in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, vol. 7 (1937), p. 261-267.

1) Reasons for this Empiricism.

Many are the reasons that explain this empiricism. 82

The main one is the primary aim of an institution such as ours. To develop into a university worthy of the name has used up all our energies and resources. The University could not, especially since 1945, retire within itself in order to re-think the conditions of its existence. It had needs grow and develop. At least such was the evaluation of the situation by its leaders. Many intricate problems, bilingualism and biculturalism among them, received provisional solutions that seemed to meet the immediate demands of growth. They never constituted the object of a comprehensive, large-scale enquiry, conducted with the exactness, patience and financial and human resources that scientific research requires. Such a thorough exploration of these problems was always deferred to a more propitious time—a time that never came. A few studies were made by our School of Psychology and Education on specific aspects of bilingualism but not with direct reference to the University. The pressures of everyday life and the paucity of our resources did not permit us to supply practical answers to the pertinent questions raised by Father Simard.

Another reason for our empiricism is the ambiguous 83
attitude of the whole country. Canada has not yet decided on the form that its bilingualism and biculturalism shall take and much less on the appropriate methods of realizing it. It is not even clear that Canada really wants to be bilingual and bicultural. The French Canadians have often expounded their views on the matter and, despite minor differences, these views were expressed with a fair unanimity, at least until the recent resurgence of separatism threatened to break up this unity. But the French-Canadian position, firmly rooted in history, still leaves much scope for

empiricism. As for English Canada, always so comfortable in a pragmatic climate, it was content to parry—quite feebly, at that—the most violent thrusts of French-Canadian nationalism by conceding now bilingual currency and then bilingual cheques. Such concessions, made piecemeal and grudgingly, only provoked feelings of frustration in the other party ...too little, too late. It is a fact that concern about these questions was voiced almost exclusively by the French Canadians and that, until the creation of the Royal Commission, their influence could never induce the powers that be to initiate a thorough discussion of the problem, although it must be said that other commissions have dealt with some of its particular aspects.¹

With the country absorbed in other tasks, such as 84
national and international policies, the economy, defence, etc., Canada's experience of bilingualism and biculturalism has been, at best, one of passive acceptance of its disadvantages and of empirical reactions to events. This important aspect of our community life has not received an attention comparable with the care given to defence, industrial development, commerce or even to culture and the arts which, certainly, are an intimate part of any vision of bilingualism and biculturalism. Granted that the empirical approach under the prod of political opportunism has produced a few valuable results as, for example, the C.B.C.; yet, Canada as a whole remains unsure of the bilingual and bicultural physiognomy that it wishes to present to the world. This might explain how certain decisions taken by the C.B.C., which is now inspired with a greater sense of its mission, have provoked such bitter controversies.²

1 Such an instance is the Massey Royal Commission on the Advancement of the arts, sciences and letters in Canada.

2 The bitter opposition to a French radio broadcasting station in Toronto is a significant example.

The University of Ottawa enjoyed no immunity from 85
the prevailing atmosphere of empiricism that equally affected all the other Canadian universities which are absorbed like us in their expanding academic functions, but are less directly in contact with this particular problem. Research of university caliber in this field is still rare.

The appointment of the Royal Commission appears as 86
the expression of a will to cast aside that pure empiricism which has revealed itself totally incapable of allaying the current restlessness arising from the recrudescence of extremist nationalism, both English and French. Only the future will tell whether fear alone was at the origin of the Commission. At the present, however, there is reason to believe that the whole country is in the process of sincere introspection through which it hopes to discover the solutions to its distressing problems by means of rational, scientific research as well as the conscious feeling of a common allegiance to one Canadian society, molded by history.

Likewise, the University of Ottawa is engaged in 87
analysing in depth the problem of its own identity as a bilingual and bicultural institution, and empiricism recedes more and more as the source of a valid definition. Nevertheless the demands of our primary purpose are as pressing as ever and the paucity of our financial resources has not been alleviated.

2) Results of Empiricism.

Our candid confession of a frequent recourse to empir- 88
icism does not amount to an admission of dishonesty. Our experiments were dictated by opportunism, perhaps; but they were inspired by the best intentions. Bilingualism at the

University was maintained in order to meet the needs of a specific student clientele. It was, and still is more and more, nurtured out of a deep desire to co-operate in the common task of adequately formulating the essence of a true Canadian spirit. However incomplete and inconclusive, our past experience still provides a guide for our present operation, but many more systematic tests will be needed before our achievements are consolidated. At a time when Canada is attempting to define its proper identity as a bilingual and bicultural society, the University of Ottawa may boldly pose as a model, although the model will certainly have to be improved upon if the final product is to command universal acceptance.

4. Conclusions Drawn from our Experience.

1) The Bilingual University.

That a bilingual university can be successfully main- 89
tained in Canada is demonstrated by our experience. The prime requisite is the unyielding will of a group of Canadians to preserve its duality.¹ Its progress, however, is not thereby assured. Even the strongest determination cannot indefinitely compensate for the apathy of the population and the denial of public financial support; for bilingualism adds considerably to the costs of an institution's operations which are normally high and are rendered unbearably heavy by the present circumstances.

1- Nature of the Bilingualism of a University.

The essence of a bilingual university cannot be 90
exactly deduced from the operation of the University of Ottawa. The term "bilingual" cannot be used to express a

1 The same conclusion would no doubt be valid, given similar conditions, about other sectors of Canadian life besides higher education.

single, specific reality. For the individual it may mean an equal fluency in either language or perfect fluency in one and a relative adequacy in the other. Similar possibilities may be transposed to institutions. Equality between the two languages may be theoretically absolute or they can be combined in variable proportions. Were all lectures conducted in French alone in all faculties except one, a university could still call itself bilingual. Likewise, a university would be justified in describing itself as bilingual if all teaching were in English, but the administration were carried out equally in both languages. The number of possible combinations are exceedingly numerous; and criticism could be levelled at the lack of a proper balance in every case. Nevertheless, if both languages are officially in use in some degree, it could not be denied that the university is, in fact, bilingual.

Which formula is the best? No definite answer can 91
be elicited from our experience, not even with regard to our own present and future policies. The oscillations of our bilingualism are apparent from our history. We have always succeeded in preserving a fair balance in the administration but, in teaching, our original ideal has suffered many a set-back. Since 1900, our aim has been a strict parallelism that was never fully attained and our course has diverged farther still after 1945. But, in itself, this formula appears to afford the greatest satisfaction. In its application, however, one of two methods may be adopted: a parallelism that rests upon one group of bilingual professors and one that supposes two groups of unilingual teachers. The University of Louvain has adopted the second method, providing a rather interesting case-study to which the Royal Commission has presumably given some attention. At Louvain, all professors, even the

most fully bilingual, may lecture only in their mother-tongue. By this rule the Walloons, among whom bilingualism is less wide-spread, are assured of a fair representation at the University. Bilingualism and biculturalism are as much interrelated in Belgium as they are in Canada.¹

Either form of parallelism is evidently very costly. 92 Both require a great outlay not only of financial but also of human capital. It follows that, since the teaching staff is recruited from among a limited population, the measure of the bilingualism of a university cannot be fixed in the abstract. The present state of Canadian bilingualism sets rather narrow limits to the possible bilingualism of an institution. It will be necessary to arrange for a progressive program anticipating that stages of a more balanced bilingualism will gradually follow intermediary periods of inequality. Various experiments of this kind, undertaken in different ethnic environments, would lead to more definite conclusions concerning an ideal formula for bilingualism in higher education. The conclusion would possibly be that different forms of bilingualism must be instituted according to the complexion of the student population to be served.

2- The Role of a Bilingual University in Canada.

We have already quoted the words of Bishop Guigues, 93 founder of the College of Bytown in which the new Institution is described as the meeting-place of the youth of both ethnic groups and, consequently, as an agency of greater mutual understanding.² More significantly, governors-general

1 It seems that the same principle is being applied in Louvain to the administrative structures. The establishment is being doubled without regard to the conjectural bilingualism of the holder of the position.

2 Page 12.

have elaborated upon it on various occasions, the Marquis of Lansdowne in 1855, the Earl of Bessborough in 1931 and Viscount Alexander of Tunis in 1947.¹ Mutual understanding issues inevitably from the intermingling of the student and professional population of a bilingual institution. This is verified by our own success which is beyond any doubt, though it is incapable of a statistical evaluation.

Notwithstanding our valuable achievements, we are far 94 from being completely satisfied, for we are precisely in the position to contemplate a much broader view of the function of a bilingual university. If it exists at all,

1 "... The university, by opening its doors indiscriminately to students of both races, by offering them a liberal education from which both have been able to derive so much advantage, is contributing to the obliteration of the last trace of rivalry which at the present time asserts itself only in the peaceful competitions of civil life, competition in which each strive to excell the other in the discharge of his duty to our common country." Marquis of Lansdowne, address at a reception in his honour, 21 May 1885. See The Owl, Oct. 1889, p. 50-51. (The noble Lord is evidently over-optimistic with regard to the situation, but his views on the role of the University have not lost any weight.)

"I realize that your University, founded by the first Bishop of Bytown, in 1848, has many difficulties to contend with. But it has triumphed over them all, and now fills, and will long, I trust, continue to fill, an important place in the life of the Federal Capital.

"In your charming address, you say that bilingualism is its very cornerstone. I was particularly glad to hear that phrase, for, in my opinion, the importance of bilingualism to this country cannot be exaggerated. If the fellow-citizens of this great Dominion can discuss freely among themselves, in French or English, questions of vital importance to their country, the more will they appreciate one another's qualities, and the less will there be any danger of misunderstanding." The Earl of Bessborough, on receiving a doctorate honoris causa, The Ottawa Journal, December 11, 1931.

"... It is not only of interest but of great importance that you are the only bilingual University in the Dominion. There can be no better instrument for national unity than this — where the youth of two racial groups are brought together in work and play and get to know each other by learning each other's language." ... "There is another aspect of your organization which I greatly admire and that is your tolerant and broad-minded approach toward those who wish to enter your doors and study under your roof. I think it is a fine and noble thing that students of other denominations can become graduates of this splendid Catholic institution. To my way of thinking, there is no argument but that it is right." Viscount Alexander of Tunis, at a reception in his honour, April 18, 1947. University Archives, Alexander of Tunis File, 18-4-47.

it should properly be a research center and a laboratory for the thorough study of this complex aspect of Canadian life. But, at the cost of repeating ourselves, we must emphasize that valid conclusions cannot be reached in the absence of general support from a population that appreciates and desires its bilingualism and unless it is supplied with the indispensable supplementary means to carry through its experiment without detriment to the normal pursuit of its essential purpose as a university.

2) Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada.

In describing and evaluating the experience made at 95 the University of Ottawa many references were made to the connexion that links together these elements of our dualism. The time has come to stress this interrelation by setting it off in full relief. It should be apparent that the whole problem of bilingualism in Canada (or anywhere else, for that matter) cannot be reduced to a simple matter of speech. Merely to seek after more efficient methods of teaching English to French Canadians and French to English Canadians would certainly fall short of an adequate solution. The most advanced teaching-techniques will not, by themselves, instil the desire to become bilingual neither will the widespread competence of individuals to speak both languages automatically bring about a wholesome climate of social harmony; for language is, in fact, much more than a means of communication. It is an integral part of culture.¹ Bilingualism has always stirred up controversy and even conflict in Canada because the motivation for promoting it, or resignedly accepting it, or rejecting it or forcing it on others sparked from the clash of cultures. The option

¹ See supra, p. 6-7.

for or against bilingualism implied that one had already taken a stand in the debate, adopted a certain attitude toward the other group and held a particular view of the country as a whole.¹ Moreover, Canadians of one culture could be incited by the other to become bilingual as a means of imposing upon them a certain conception of the Canadian society. It is, then, evident that bilingualism and biculturalism are practically inseparable. The history of the University of Ottawa clearly shows that a bilingual institution that is run by French Canadians will always remain a "French School" in English-Canadian eyes, even if a larger place is given to English than to French in its programs. The inverse would be equally true.²

We have already deflated the optimism which inspired 96 the substitution of "French-speaking Canadian" or "Canadian of French expression" for "French Canadian".³ This suggestion, which has been translated into a fairly extensive practice, is symptomatic of a pure illusion, the illusion of the unhyphenated Canadians. The romantic dream of a Canadian society, whose members are distinguishable from one another only by their habitual use of their mother-tongue while closely united in a single vision of a glorious Canada, certainly does not correspond to the present Canadian reality. If such were the case, to be a Canadian would

1 This judgment applies only to those Canadians who could have taken the opportunity of becoming bilingual. There are regions where this opportunity is denied to the mass of the population. In these regions the responsibility rests, to a great extent, with the educational leaders rather than with the individuals.

2 In the same way, the intensive French courses offered to English-speaking civil servants, even if they succeed in making them bilingual, will not completely solve the complex problem of bilingualism. The Central Administration will remain "English" in French-Canadian eyes as long as it remains in the hands of an overwhelming majority of Anglo-Canadians, be they all perfectly bilingual.

3 Supra, p. 8.

pose no problem. National harmony could be assured by the simple extension of bilingualism from sea to sea.

This appeasement through uniformity, supposing it to 97
be practicable, would demand an exorbitant and inadmissible ransom. It would imply resignation to the distortion of the Canadian homeland, to the erasure from its face of its most distinctive trait. How much more politic to promote the common ideal of a united country while jealously preserving its inwrought duality. This meeting on one soil of two of the highest western cultures is the deed of history whose object cannot be that they be watered down out of sheer weariness and reduced to the nebulous elements that they may hold in common. Only a virile and frank confrontation can lead the two component parts of the Canadian community toward a genuine biculturalism, bent on perpetuating itself by the preservation of its two cultures and its two ways of life, in short by recognizing that there are two acceptable ways of being truly Canadian. If ever the time comes when all Canadians will value this duality as a wealth to be enjoyed, when they will foster it at whatever cost, then the laws governing the difficult art of being Canadian will become more readily discernable. And, no doubt, it will have become easier to agree on the measure of bilingualism that ought to exist in Canada and on the possible rate of progress in reaching this measure.

Evidently, this is but a lofty ideal whose difficulty 98
of attainment must not deter Canadians from striving after it. In its light bilingualism stands out in more glowing colours, especially from the point of view of the English-speaking Canadian. If one must hold to the hope that, some day, the common knowledge of both languages will be regarded as the normal consequence of a distinct view of Canada, the spread of bilingualism at the present time can probably

serve to generate that vision. Any serious effort made by an Anglo-Canadian to learn French is indicative of a latent desire for a better understanding of his French countrymen and implicitly suggests an incipient biculturalism. His progress in the language will facilitate the dialogue with French Canadians, and his rudimentary biculturalism will be brought to its full development by this social communication. In this way, bilingualism is, at once, the seed of biculturalism and its first fruit. This experience is not rare among French Canadians, and we have already shown that many have enjoyed it at the University of Ottawa.

To promote bilingualism for reasons of economic interests or out of fear of noisy demonstrations would, then, seem rather futile. It is with a view to biculturalism that means of spreading the desire for, and the practice of, bilingualism must be found. The evident correlation between bilingualism and biculturalism makes two urgent demands upon us: first, induce Canadians to become bilingual for the sake of better mutual understanding and, then, transform the resultant diffusion of bilingualism into a generally accepted biculturalism that will present the knowledge of both languages as a duty for the majority of Canadians. In short, let the wish for mutual understanding be father to the duty of becoming bilingual. All universities in Canada should participate in this enterprise. With the co-operation of the radio and television networks, more especially of the C.B.C., they could provide the whole population with an efficient teaching of the two languages and the opportunity of hearing them in their correct form. The growing popularity of adult education has developed a high regard for the universities among Canadians and increased their power to inspire the latter with the desire

99

and the will to become bilingual. But this endeavour must be organized into a serious, concerted and scientifically conducted campaign if public opinion is to be noticeably influenced.

Accordingly, the Royal Commission, it seems, should 100 pursue a twofold objective. The first, to discover and prescribe quick-acting remedies to existing situations that must be considered as abnormal and liable to aggravate the strains of our national life. Certain situations clamour for immediate attention: with regard to bilingualism, the Federal Administration and such places as the National Capital, where unilingualism has been the rule in glaring opposition to a true Canadian spirit; also in the matter of biculturalism as, for instance, the obdurate refusal of many provinces to allow the legitimate claims of French-Canadian parents to educate their children in conformity with their cultural aspirations. The B.N.A. Act enables the Federal Government to intervene in such cases and the Royal Commission might make recommendations along these lines. We should deem them to be justified.

The second objective is to determine the long-term 101 methods by which the whole country shall attain to the near fulfilment of the ideal, a genuine bilateral practice of bilingualism and biculturalism. Some permanent organizations and institutions could guide the nation in this undertaking. They should be singled out and entrusted with the mission to do so. Quick-acting remedies will alleviate our more evident ills, but they cannot provide definitive solutions. The nation must be engaged in an unceasing search after reforms conducive to a substantial practice of bilingualism and biculturalism without marking time in its march forward as a nation of the world. Canada must continue to exist and prosper even while it is trying to define its collective

self. Like in other countries beset with the same complex problem, this self-definition is not a constant; it must be continually re-formulated. Bilingualism and biculturalism can only be a continuing experience for the country as a whole as it has been for the University of Ottawa.

3) Scope of This Research.

It is out of the question that Canada neglect its 102 social, political, economic, intellectual and artistic development and channel all its energies toward the elaboration of bilingual and bicultural formulas. The solution to the present crisis does not lie in the Utopian withdrawal of Canada into itself so that the two groups might learn to live together, leaving the rest of the world to follow its own course. Even if every aspect of Canadian everyday life is affected by the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, they must not be at the core of our existence as a people. Countries, like individuals, need times of intensive reflection, self-criticism and re-orientation, and the Royal Commission embodies such a moment of Canadian history. If, however, the present concentration of vital energies were to drag on indefinitely, it would impart an artificial character to our collective life. Moreover, all paroxysms of self-analysis inevitably produce outbursts of baneful extremism. Practice makes perfect, and it is by the deliberate practice of biculturalism and bilingualism that Canada will develop spontaneity in the art of being truly Canadian. Which brings to mind Saint-Exupéry's shrewd observation on friendship:

When bound to our brothers by a common object lying outside us, only then do we breathe freely, and experience teaches us that to love is not to look at one another but to look together in the same direction.¹

1 Antoine de SAINT-EXUPÉRY, Terre des hommes, Paris, éd. La Pléiade, 1959, p. 252. (Our translation)

The pursuit of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada finds its purpose in that common object toward which, all together, we must tend.

This common goal, this common good, is the sum total 103 of the interests that are better served through the collaboration of all. It is the aggregate of those advantages that would lie beyond individual reach without the pooling of energies. It is the embodiment of the transcendental ideal that can be realized through concerted efforts but eludes the grasp of scattered action.

In a political society, the common good is the sole 104 justification for the administrative institutions, the concentration of power and its use, the levying of taxes, the apportioning of moneys, etc. Hence, the idea of the common good held by any given society comes to light through an analysis of all such pertinent factors. When applied to Canada this analysis tends to show the conceptual cleavage which keeps our two cultures apart.

Anglo-Canadians conceive of the common good as the 105 result of a statistical analysis, as a least common denominator. It is a congeries of interests and principles that are deemed to be of general acceptance by the community as long as they are agreeable to the majority. Governments of the day express the majority's will when they legislate on the contents of this aggregate and safeguard it through established courts. Particularisms are theoretically excluded from the common good and any concession extended to a minority is looked upon as an exception that is countenanced only for the sake of peace and harmony.

The history of the educational system of Ontario— 106 and, in fact, of all "English" provinces—bears witness to this mentality. The ideal public school, that which conforms best to the common good and enjoys full right to

governmental aid, is the uniform, unilingual and religiously neutral school. Why should it not be suitable to all since it fills the minimum needs common to all? Should any group not be content with this minimum, it is "free" to provide for its special needs at its own expense, but it is not relieved of the general contribution to the public system from which it derives no benefit.¹ Even the purchase of this freedom has been denied at times, the majesty of the law being used to thwart the aspirations of some minorities. The province of Ontario was forced to yield on that point at the level of primary education, but this concession was always considered as a deplorable exception. The adjustments recently made to an obviously unjust situation were refused the permanent guarantee that is inherent in the official recognition of a right. As for university and high school education, the province remains adamant. No religious particularisms are admitted as being part of the government's concern for the common good, even in the case of an institution such as ours whose contribution to the province is highly praised.

There is, however, another conception of the common 107 good from which flows another view of the field of action of public authority. In this conception, group particularisms are not seen as private interests, alien to the common good. On the contrary, they are included within the total view of society. Their very diversity appears as an enrichment, an integral part of the common good and the object of a right that cannot be denied even in the name of the law of the majority. Holding a rightful place in the community, the minorities are entitled to receive the aid of public funds in realizing their particular aspirations.

1 It is common knowledge that English-speaking Catholics do not share these views, at least as far as religious particularisms in education are concerned.

The educational system of the province of Quebec 108
will serve as an illustration of this other conception.
The French Catholic majority has always spontaneously given
equal support to the institutions that the English-speaking
minorities, Protestant and Catholic, developed themselves
in accordance with their own ideals and philosophy. Be it
English, Protestant or neutral, a university has only to
meet the test of academic excellence, according to the
standards recognized by the minority itself, in order to
receive government aid on a basis of strict equality with
those of the majority. Some recent protests raised against
this status of equality for Bishop's and McGill Universi-
ties stirred up only feeble reactions, nearly all in sup-
port of the present policy which is, in fact, only the
expression of the people's philosophy.

This discussion about the two different conceptions 109
of the common good might seem purely theoretical. Actual-
ly, we are faced with two different philosophies, two views
of man, of his rights and duties and of his relations with
society and the state. At the University of Ottawa we know
from experience that to consider these ideas as pure abs-
tractions only leads to self-delusion. We are precisely
situated at the meeting-point of these two philosophies and
have periodically been staggered by the shock of their col-
lision. We know whereof we speak; for, if a commendable
measure of bilingualism and biculturalism has been main-
tained at the University of Ottawa, this was accomplished
by French Canadians, the majority of whom had come from
Quebec. The practical consequences of each of these views
of the common good are factors with which we had to deal
constantly.

We prefer not to discuss the comparative merit of 110
these philosophies in the abstract. As both cultures are

represented at the University, each of these attitudes would probably find its protagonists in our midst. Moreover, since this conceptual dualism is part and parcel of the Canadian duality, the hope of reducing it to unity would be illusory. It will be more profitable to seek for a practical solution to the problem created by this diversity.

At the risk of once again sounding repetitious, we 111 affirm that no solution is possible outside that authentic biculturalism which prescribes that Canada must be preserved such as history has fashioned it. This means appreciating history's action in its totality and not reducing it to military feats and defeats, implicitly suggesting that our country is still in a state of truce where the conquered are supposed to wallow in their rancour while the conquerors bide their time in the expectation of an inevitable, unconditional surrender. This only too common transposition of military categories to all spheres of Canadian life cannot but be pernicious. The bi-ethnic nature of Canada must be acknowledged as a definitively established fact, independently of the military and other struggles that created the present state of things.

In this perspective, the problem is simple enough. 112 It consists essentially in giving biculturalism and bilingualism their rightful place in Canada. The validity of all particular arrangements rests upon their possible integration into each of the two views of the common good. On neither side must these views be considered as objects of particular interest to a minority and as alien to the general weal of the whole country. Otherwise, the minority will continue to appreciate bilingualism as a monopoly to be used for agonistic ends, the promotion of French culture will remain the stake of a bitter contest, and attempts

will be made to secure it, even to the prejudice of the total common good. On the other hand, the majority will persist in its complacent pragmatism, making piecemeal concessions, warding off the most pressing dangers by doling out small favours to the exasperated minority from time to time, but always considering these grudgingly granted "privileges" to be diversions from the pursuit of the common good. The problem of national unity cannot be solved in such a climate. The only sound solution will be found in the definitive and relatively unanimous acceptance of biculturalism as an essential part of the common good of this prosperous country that is Canada.

If we assume that this analysis of the conceptual dualism of the common good soundly conforms to reality, it is, then, immediately apparent that a single uniform type of biculturalism for all Canadians cannot be contemplated. Pluralism is the one formula that holds any chance of success. On the one hand, a French-Canadian biculturalism, with the French language and culture imparting to the total national common good the enrichment of their diversity; on the other hand, an English-Canadian biculturalism that will eventually accept the French language and culture as essential elements of the common good if, only, for the sake of a united Canadian society extending a mari usque ad mare and of which Quebec is a necessary component. The strains of conflict having abated, the French Canadians will realize that the advancement and even the survival of their cultural heritage on the North American continent are conditioned by the whole of Canada's need of Quebec for the preservation of its collective identity in the face of the pressures from the South; and the English-speaking Canadians will see that a Canada split into three sections will not long withstand these southern pressures and will unavoidably be

113

absorbed politically and culturally. It will be clear to both sides that force and intimidation will be of no avail. Probably for different reasons both groups will be determined to nurture the country's dualism by integrating the French language and culture into the national common good. French Canadians will draw from this new understanding the supplementary patience that they will undoubtedly still require. Anglo-Canadians will be more aware that there are limits to their compatriots' patience which will not, forever, be content with reluctant, paltry concessions.

To effect such a change in the social climate, we 114 sincerely doubt the effectiveness of artificially created environments that are culturally neutral and in which representatives of both groups endeavour to live together in peace by sharing only what they hold in common, all the while concealing under the cloak of tolerance that which distinguishes them. This conviction has grown upon us over the years. It gives coherence to our experience at the University of Ottawa. It explains as well our intention to prolong that experience without altering in any way its basic principles. Its intrinsic value was placed in a vivid light by Lord Alexander of Tunis:

I think that it is a fine and noble thing that students of other denominations can become graduates of this splendid Catholic institution. To my way of thinking, there is no argument but that it is right.¹

The Governor-General's views on the rightness of religious pluralism can be applied with equal justification to every other element of culture. Biculturalism, if it is to exist at all, will have to develop in different social and institutional environments, each preserving its special character under the controlling agency of one or the other culture,

1 Supra, p. 53, note 1.

but each also responsive to the action of substantial minority groups: in French-Canadian centers of predominantly Catholic or of pluralistic complexion, in English-speaking centers with a Protestant or Catholic or indifferent majority. Canadian biculturalism is not, in fact, a simple, clear-cut, two-culture dualism but, rather, a cultural pluralism to which each culture brings a positive, active contribution. It is vain to hope that it might be reduced in a foreseeable future to a dubious oneness in some nameless melting pot. In any event, vain or not, such an expectation would betray an absence of hope in the growth of Canada as a distinctive people.

We believe that the foregoing considerations substantiate the statement already made that to acknowledge the imperfections in our experience does not amount to a confession of failure.¹ Every experiment in this field will necessarily show limited results, if evaluated by itself; but if all the various, sincerely tried experiments receive general support, their aggregate may provide the whole country with dependable guide-lines.

There are institutions where the very force of circumstances will call for a spirit of understanding, broad-mindedness and compromise. Especially have we in mind the Federal Civil Service. Since Canadian biculturalism must be a continuing experiment, the brakes cannot suddenly be applied to the wheels of government without jeopardizing the normal progress of the country. Certainly, bilingualism can be improved at a fair rate in the Civil Service, but it is inadvisable to transform the various departments and services of the Central Government into so many laboratories for the testing of different formulas. Such experiments

1 Supra, p. 42.

should be carried out elsewhere, and their definitive results might, then, point the way to reforms that will make of the National Government the faithful reflection and the vital center of a bicultural Canada.

4) Urgent Necessity of Discarding Empiricism.

It should be clear that the era of empiricism in 117 matters of biculturalism and bilingualism ought to be decisively closed. The Royal Commission marks the beginning of a continuing experiment in Canadian cultural and linguistic relations. At the very outset of this "Permanent Revolution," every guarantee of ultimate success must be secured by tapping all the country's human and institutional resources and launching forth along a calculated, rational, scientific course. Canada can no longer afford the luxury of leaving this task of reflection and decision solely to the good will of isolated individuals, small groups or exceptional institutions, working alone. After what has been said above of the effects of empiricism, any further comment would be supererogatory.

Conclusion

From our experience of 117 years, unparalleled in 118 Canada, from our achievements and reserves, from our overall success despite some set-backs, certain lessons have been drawn that are not without interest for all Canada. Several will have seemed rather negative, others are definitely positive. In our attempt at an objective evaluation of this experience we have neither concealed our pride in our accomplishment nor accepted sole responsibility for our failures. We are deeply thankful for the support received from so many collaborators, but we hold

that, among the many others—individuals and organizations, political and religious leaders—who were in a position to help us and have withheld their aid, none may pretend to have laboured zealously or wisely for the cause of biculturalism and bilingualism in Canada.

PART THREE : Recommendations.

1. A Truly Bilingual National Capital.

The paradox of a unilingual Capital City in a bi- 119
lingual country has lasted much too long. This situation,
ever incongruous in the past, becomes more and more
repugnant as attention within the country and abroad
focuses with greater intensity on the problems of Canadian
bilingualism and biculturalism. We have already pointed
out the handicap imposed upon the University of Ottawa by
the city's obdurate unilingualism. French-Canadian
scholars have been reluctant to move to Ottawa or have
been ill at ease in the present atmosphere.¹ A similar
mischief is done the Federal Civil Service. It is too
easy to say that competent French Canadians cannot be
found to fill important positions; many do not wish to
come to, or remain in, this English Capital City, and the
awakening of French-Canadian nationalism has further
aggravated the situation. But the recruiting of French-
Canadian public servants is essential if the bilingual
character, now being developed in the Central Government,
is to be made fully effective through a genuine bicultural-
ism. However, this collaboration will be secured with
difficulty as long as French Canadians are made to feel
like exiles in Ottawa. Quebec's "quiet revolution" not
only complicates the problem of recruitment for the future,
but the Federal Government, like the University of Ottawa,
is losing many of its present French-speaking personnel who
are eager to breathe once again the invigorating air of
their native province. The narrow-minded policy of the

1 Part Two, p. 31.

Ottawa civic authorities only worsens the city's bad reputation in this respect notwithstanding recent petty concessions in the case of "certain wards where the French population is more numerous." This bilingualism by way of tolerated exception, as for a ghetto, satisfies no one and will sooner or later exasperate the French Canadians and others who take Canada's bilingualism seriously. So long as bilingualism is restricted to federal buildings and a few places of business, Ottawa will remain an Ontario provincial town, that just happened to have been chosen as the seat of government of a bilingual country. At the present time, it is not the really National Capital in the English, and much less in the French, acception of the term. Those who constitute the "French-Canadian nation" are forced to acquiesce in the location of their government in Ottawa but, unlike the people of most countries, they feel no emotional attachment to a city which is decidedly foreign to them.¹

The Royal Commission must discover and recommend 120
the means of effecting the unmitigated bilingualism of the National Capital. The normal procedure in the present state of our administrative structure would be to secure the co-operation of the provincial and municipal governments, fully supported by public opinion in the city and throughout the province. While serious conversations are being held with these governments an intensive campaign must be carried out among the population so that political

1 The shabby and petulant bilingualism of the Tourist and Convention Bureau is actually a source of irritation to people from Quebec who visit Ottawa and strengthens their conviction that they are not at home in the city. We know that many citizens of Ottawa are indignant at this situation. It is high time that the pettifoggery recently indulged in around mostly symbolical scraps of bilingualism (e.g. traffic signs) be stopped and that a serious effort be made to tackle the real problem of the Capital's bilingualism.

leaders need not fear reprisals at the polls for their support of a bilingual Capital but rather feel a strong popular pressure in that direction. By an extensive use of all the information media it should be comparatively easy to rouse public opinion in support of a truly bilingual National Capital.

The Federal District Solution.

The constitution of a Federal District for the Capital has periodically been mooted by certain individuals in the press or elsewhere without stirring up much public interest. Since the appointment of the Royal Commission it has attracted greater attention as a more rapid, because more radical, means of circumventing the parochial mentality of the City of Ottawa. The direct control of the Central Government over a Federal Capital District would ensure its bilingualism. It would certainly be welcomed by the University of Ottawa; for the Federal Government is not bound by any "tradition" of discrimination against denominational institutions in the matter of grants and, considering the present state of minds, would probably wish the University to pursue its experiment in bilingualism and biculturalism with the utmost efficiency but without detriment to its primary purpose as an institution of higher learning and, more, without any alteration of its traditional character. Should the province of Ontario persist in its present attitude, we could not but entertain the hope that a Federal District be established.

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The more so as it would ensure also that the National Capital would present a faithful image of the country's duality. We repeat that we should consider it to be a victory of the true Canadian spirit if the population of Ottawa and of the whole province would pressure their

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representatives into changing the aspect of Canada's Capital without delay. It would then appear to all Canadians as not inconceivable that a predominantly English-speaking community is not incapable of recognizing the bi-cultural and bilingual character of the homeland without Federal Government interference or its substitution for a local government obstinately holding to out-of-date attitudes.

We are also aware that many political, constitution- 124 al, economic and administrative factors must enter into the discussion of such a project. Some of the values that these factors represent might be the price to be paid for the correction of the actual situation. If it became clear to the Royal Commission that neither the province nor the city will budge from its present position, let the Commission's report be the authoritative voice of Canada acknowledging failure and suggesting that appropriate measures be initiated to constitute a truly bilingual federal district altogether withdrawn from provincial jurisdiction.

Our first recommendation is, therefore, formulated 125 as follows:

Let the Royal Commission enquire into the most effective means of changing the City of Ottawa into a truly bilingual Capital and recommend the appropriate measures to be taken by the government involved.
Should the municipal and/or provincial administrations refuse to co-operate in this undertaking, let the Commission recommend the creation of a Federal District; in which case, the University would most strongly urge the Central Government to exert all means in its power so that the vested rights of the French Canadians be safeguarded in Ontario.

2. The Continuing Contribution of Canadian Universities.

The submission of their final report by the Commis- 126
sioners will not spell the end of the task undertaken by
the Royal Commission. We must assume that certain agencies,
already in existence or to be constituted, will endeavour
to carry out the Commission's recommendations. But bilin-
gualism and biculturalism in Canada cannot be stabilized.
They will always be in a state of flux, subject to changing
attitudes in the country. The rate of their progress will
correspond to the measure of success achieved by the Com-
mission—a success that we hope will be remarkable. The
Commission's study must, then, be continued indefinitely
in order that the foreseeable evolution may be properly
oriented and that the action of governmental agencies be
exerted in line with this evolution. We have sufficiently
emphasized the detrimental effects of empiricism; we need
not dwell further on the necessity of avoiding it after
the interlude of the Royal Commission's enquiry. But we
must insist on the importance of keeping under study a
question that is so vital to the whole country. Indeed,
applying an American economic concept to the Canadian
cultural situation, we have said that the Commission's work
must be the starting point of a "Permanent Revolution".
The permanency of this revolution cannot be assured by
frequent appeals to transitory agencies, such as royal
commissions, some of whose damaging effects in the case
of racial antagonisms have already been noted.

The Continuation of the Commission's Work by the
Universities.

We suggest that the proper instrumentalities for 127
the continuation of the work of the Commission are the

Universities. Our experience, despite some shortcomings, is valuable in that it shows the extent to which such experiments could be useful if carried out systematically, with adequate resources, by a number of universities strategically located in, and influenced by, different cultural environments. The existential differences of the institutions would guarantee that pluralism, which is an essential characteristic of a truly Canadian experience, would be maintained. Research and experiments would be less open to the risk of conformity to a single model, of suppressing biculturalism by obliterating diversity. Suffice it to say that universities have at their disposal the specialized personnel and the tools requisite to such an undertaking.

Furthermore, the transient nature of the student 128 population of a university admits of an exceptional flexibility in the application of various formulas of bilingualism and biculturalism. The constant renewal of the human group, as opposed to permanency of a settled community, makes it easier to modify the system without causing any popular commotion. And the fact that youth is the clay in which the bicultural monument is to be moulded augurs well for the future of Canada; for, notwithstanding the generally increasing goodwill in the country, it must be expected that the older generations will be less disposed to accept biculturalism. The wishful words of the Founder of the College of Bytown remain fully valid today:

A college will solidly cement the most durable bonds among the youth of different origins and faiths and will erase the natural antipathies always so deplorable [when they exist] among the citizens of a common country.

Ways and Means.

1- Selection of Typical Institutions.

It would be advisable to draw up a list of the 129
universities that would enter into this scheme. While
the main criterion of selection would evidently be the
willingness of an institution to participate, an effort
should be made to establish a system of such institutions
(without excluding any that are eager to do so) selected
rationally according to their geographical location, their
history, the means at their disposal and their real,
actual or possible, access to the various sectors of the
Canadian population. Needless to say, the University of
Ottawa would be pleased to share with other Canadian uni-
versities in an experiment that it has carried out, up to
now, in a splendid isolation.

2- Co-Ordination.

Henceforth, the diversified research and experimenta- 130
tion that we recommend must not be done as independent
projects but should cohere in a complete whole. This
cohesion of the distinctive parts could be achieved through
a planning and co-ordinating committee specifically ap-
pointed by the National Conference of Canadian Universities
and Colleges. The documentation amassed by the Royal Com-
mission could be handed over to this committee which would
ensure that it be completed, kept up to date and re-classi-
fied for practical applications, and would advise the
selected universities on the field of research proper to
each according to its special competence and available
resources. Both the research and its practical applications
must follow the order of priorities established as a result
of the enquiry of the Royal Commission. The conclusions,

whether positive or negative, of the various experiments could be transmitted to the interested governments and made public through the NCCUC, always with due respect for academic freedom.

3- Financing.

The returns of moneys expended in the financing of 131
transitory agencies, such as royal commissions, are precarious; but the financing of the program suggested here may be considered as an investment bringing permanently assured returns, for the development of a university represents a durable gain for the whole country.

The governmental grants to the selected universities 132
should fulfil a double purpose: first, to permit the universities participating in the scheme a status comparable to the best in the country. For them, as it has been for us, their bicultural program must be integrated in, and not substituted for, the normal pursuit of the academic excellence that is their primary purpose. They should, therefore, receive their due share of the public funds allotted to universities to this end. Secondly, since they will be performing a special service on the national and provincial level for the Canadian society, supplementary aid should be forthcoming to meet the heavy costs of this special service, taking into account the extent and quality of their respective contribution.

The financial administration of this continuing 133
project could well be entrusted to the Canadian Universities Foundation which has been handling federal grants to universities and colleges for some years.

We are not forgetful of the complications likely to 134
arise from the dispositions of our present Constitution that reserve the powers over education to the provinces.

Educational grants should normally proceed from the provincial governments. The adhesion or opposition of the provinces to the project would be another indication of the Canadian people's true state of mind in regard to a bilingual and bicultural Canada. It remains, nonetheless, that the collaboration of a provincial government would provide it with clear analyses by specialists of the province's peculiar problems in this field and do away with ad hoc agencies whose work would always lack completeness and permanency. Co-operative federalism, which receives so much attention in our day, should be able to devise ways in which, still with due regard to the principles of the Canadian Constitution, the Federal Government could be allowed to collaborate financially with the provincial governments in this project.

In the event that one or more of the provincial governments deliberately remain aloof from an undertaking of this kind, ways should be contrived in which the Central Government might make up for their lack of co-operation. If this course became necessary, it would amount to another avowal of failure in the formation of a truly Canadian spirit to which, we repeat, cultural pluralism is absolutely essential. 135

Finally, we are of the opinion that governments, whether federal or provincial, should resist the temptation of setting up independent organizations whose functions should normally be exercised by universities. A case in point is the creation of schools for the teaching of languages, independent of the constituted educational systems. Organizations of this kind will always present an artificial character and, being a duplication of academic energies, they are a luxury that the country can ill afford. The role of government is to promote the formation, within 136

existing specialized frameworks, of the subordinate structures that are deemed necessary rather than to create marginal substitutes. All such projected governmental schools appear to be open to the same criticism.

Our second recommendation may, then, be formulated 137
as follows:

Let the Royal Commission's enquiry be continued permanently by the universities of Canada under the direction of a co-ordinating committee appointed by the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges; and let the universities engaged in such research or in practical experiments in bilingualism and biculturalism be specially assisted through adequate government financial aid.

3. Equal Opportunity for High School Training for Bilingual University Education.

One obstacle to bilingual university education has 138
previously been stressed with special reference to the province of Ontario. Public High School students receive their preparatory training in the various fields of learning only, or almost only, in English. Suddenly changing to French at the university level presents serious difficulties and places the French student at a great disadvantage comparatively to English-speaking students. This explains why such a small number consent to enrol in the courses given in French in our Faculty of Science. If bilingualism is to develop at the university level, equal facilities must be made available in high schools (including the last year, Grade XIII) to train for higher studies in French as well as in English.

Our third recommendation may, then, be stated

139

thus:

Let all provinces, and more particularly Ontario,
admit the use of French as the language of instruction
in all subjects of the programs of High Schools,
including the last year, Grade XIII.

CONCLUSION.

The views of the University of Ottawa on the preservation and development of the Canadian cultural duality are revealed in the foregoing historical survey and evaluation of its own experience of bilingualism and biculturalism and the ensuing recommendations. As we see it this duality is, at once, a paradox, a heavy burden and a challenge. But, however one looks at it, it remains an unalterable trait of our common homeland's destiny. Canada's survival and future prosperity as a distinctive entity on the North American continent are closely linked to its enduring allegiance to the legacy of its past, even if this implies modifications in its present administrative structures. The history of the University of Ottawa shows that fidelity to the institutional self is possible only through periodic re-adaptations. The Canadian societal self will survive only by the same method. 140

As an end to be achieved, the Canadian cultural duality may be seen in various ways: as an impossible wager or a romantic dream every now and again broken up by rude awakenings or, again, as a difficult but possible ideal—an ideal worthy of the best efforts. We shall conclude this brief with the expression of our views on the possibility of attaining this ideal. In doing so, we shall make use of the concept by which the philosopher Jacques Maritain defines the typical civilization of a given historical epoch, the concept of the concrete historical ideal, that we shall apply to a definite geographical and human context, the actual Canadian situation. 141

Maritain makes the valid distinction between a concrete historical ideal and a utopia in the manner of 142

a Thomas More, a Fénelon or a James Harrington. A utopian society is an imaginary, absolutely perfect, social and political system that is proposed in lieu of the actually possible reality. Its very impossibility permits the whimsical accretion of all conceivable perfections.

A concrete historical ideal, on the other hand, is an aggregate of values cherished by an actually organized community at a time of a more or less conscious effort at collective introspection and is seen as a goal to be achieved. Thus it is not conceived as an apex of absolute perfection but, rather, as a relative maximum—relative, that is, to a given historical moment. The practical exigencies of the concrete social climate give to this ideal the aspect not of something already done but of something to be realized in compliance with the dictates of history.¹

The building of a truly bilingual and bicultural Canada must not be considered as a utopia but as a concrete historical ideal. Despite its imperfections, the experience of the University of Ottawa shows incontrovertibly that it is capable of attainment in a limited context. We believe that the whole country can arrive at a similar conclusion in regard to its collective self, provided that it does not aim at an absolute perfection that would be defined, once for all, in unalterable terms. The concept of a concrete historical ideal calls for suppleness and adaptability to changing circumstances and new social attitudes. The two cultural groups must gradually learn to understand, appreciate and desire their ethnic duality as an enrichment for the country. And, since no one can decline all responsibility in the present critical situation, no one has a

143

1 Jacques MARITAIN, True Humanism, London, Centenary Press, 1941, p. 121-122.

right to insist upon an immediate solution that would completely meet his own views.

The appointment of the Royal Commission at this 144
time is most significant. It indicates that the present generation is entrusted with a special mission, that of supplying the first, long-delayed, rational formulation of Canada's concrete historical ideal. Forsaking for once their habitual empiricism, Canadians are giving a searching look to the present outcome of their true history (not that which is assumed to have been fixed definitively in 1763 or 1867) and seek in its deeds an inspiration for the present and a new orientation for the future.

An imperious idea pervades the whole mandate of the 145
Commission, the idea of the equality between the two cultures. Indeed, it does seem that, henceforth, every vision of Canada must include this unifying idea in its composition. It is not evident, however, that this equality must be mathematical from one ocean to the other. Even if it is only an equality of proportion, it must be nonetheless real equality, in that all Canadians will feel that they are really at home everywhere in Canada. This equality which is more psychological than quantitative, is at the very core of the concrete historical ideal for which we must reach. It would be utopian to require an immediate mathematical equality, except in the matter of a glaring injustice as, for example, the equality of rights in education. It would be utopian to aim at making the Anglo-Canadian group immediately bilingual in the same proportion as the French Canadians are bilingual in our day. But it is not an unattainable ideal that English Canadians everywhere in Canada come to realize that their unilingualism, quite often explicable, force their French-Canadian compatriots to bring an exorbitant contribution to the cause

of Canadian unity. Such a new attitude would put an end to the incessant raising up of unilingualism as a standard of superiority and pave the way toward a sincere attempt at bilingualism. It would equally be utopian to believe that the people of Quebec can be induced to entertain the same "national" feeling toward Toronto and Quebec or, even, toward Ottawa and Quebec. But it should be possible to make them understand that, Canada, as a distinct political entity, can safeguard the French-Canadian particularism against the danger of assimilation from the south.

This last point constitutes another essential element 146 of our concrete historical ideal. The solidarity of our two cultures is commanded by our geographical location in North America and its inevitable political, economic and cultural consequences. Granted that Canadian unity must not be realized through the flimsy, negative motivation of anti-Americanism. It is still difficult to visualize what would remain of the Anglo-Canadian culture, as distinct from the American culture, without the moderating influence of French Canada. It is no less difficult to conceive that the French-Canadian particularism could long withstand the forces of assimilation, first economic, then social and political and finally cultural, unless it be protected by its integration into a strong political society.

The historical ideal that presents itself to the 147 Canadian generation of today is the general acknowledgement that the country may no longer be the battle-field of a cultural struggle in which both cultures exhaust themselves in futile combat. It behooves our generation to reject every recourse to force in whatever form as a means of compelling the submission of the other party. Its use defeats the aim of its instigator, for the end-result can only be the widening of the breach between our two cultures and the

weakening of the country as a whole. Acts of terrorism, political blackmail, or unyielding appeals to the will of the majority, such attempts to impose unilateral solutions on the other party undermine the future of Canada and are a threat to the survival of either culture. Canada will be bilingual and bicultural or it will cease to be; our two cultures will march hand in hand a mari usque ad mare in Canada or they will both disappear. And it is imperative that this duality be seen as an enrichment that is appreciated and wanted for itself and not as a mutual, grudgingly-made concession.

The fulfilment of this historical ideal awaits us at 148 the end of a long and arduous journey fraught with temptations of facile solutions, like separatism or assimilation, social mirages enticing the weak who are easily swayed by the simplicity of extremisms. It is to be hoped that the Canadian people will resist these crude allurements and will consent to a lengthy, fastidious evolution as well as to immediate changes that are equally necessary to its survival and continued development.

At the University of Ottawa we believe in this lofty 149 ideal because we have thrived on it since 1848. Of this faith was born the hope that we could usefully present to the Royal Commission a testimony free of all concealments and misrepresentations. May the description of our successes and failures serve as a guide-line to the whole country. The image of the University has not been improved upon nor have we sought to glorify our Institution. Our only wish has been to collaborate in an urgent and frank, collective introspection.

It is with the deepest sincerity that we wish the 150
Royal Commission the greatest success. Like the whole
Canadian people, the University of Ottawa is fully aware
that its own future prosperity, even perhaps its survival,
depends in a large measure on this success.

Ottawa, Ontario,
December, 1964.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I : Language of Instruction in Various Faculties 151
(1964).

1. French only:

School of Physical Education and Recreation

Institute of Home Economics

2. Bilingual:

Faculty of Arts

Faculty of Philosophy

Faculty of Theology

Department of Extension

Faculty of Social Sciences

Sociology: French only

Political Science: bilingual

Economics: predominantly English

Faculty of Law:

Droit civil: French only

Common Law: English only

3. Predominantly English:

School of Psychology and Education (Parallel courses
during the
first year)

School of Nursing

Library School

Pure and Applied Sciences (Parallel courses have
been inaugurated recently;
the change is in progress)

4. English only:

Faculty of Medicine (Parallel courses in Medical
Ethics).

APPENDIX II : Composition of the Student Body.

1. According to usual language

152

	French	English	Others ¹	Students	%non-French
1958-59	1477	837		2314	36.1
1959-60	1545	1095		2640	41.4
1960-61	1651	1233		2884	42.7
1961-62	1874	1116	296	3286	42.9
1962-63	1952	1276	292	3520	44.5
1963-64	2078	1458	273	3809	45.4

1 Use mostly English as their habitual language.

APPENDIX II : Composition of the Student Body.

2. According to religious affiliation

153

	Cath.	Non-Cath.	Jewish	Others	Students	%non-Cath.
1958-59	2101	212			2314	9.1
1959-60	2380	260			2640	9.8
1960-61	2531	353			2884	12.2
1961-62	2865	<u>Prot.</u> 223	64	134	3286	12.8
1962-63	3024	250	64	182	3520	14.0
1963-64	3203	282	53	271	3809	15.9

APPENDIX II : Composition of the Student Body.

3. According to place of origin

154

	Nfld	PEI	NS	NB	Que	Ont	Man	Sask	Alta	BC	Others	Total
1958-59	16	-	16	29	728	1223	15	16	22	-	243	2314
1959-60	15	4	16	26	811	1439	13	32	26	5	253	2640
1960-61	20	4	22	41	936	1441	18	32	38	14	318	2884
1961-62	21	7	19	42	1168	1547	14	29	35	10	394	3286
1962-63	21	10	22	38	1243	1638	18	18	36	8	468	3520
1963-64	27	8	20	40	1345	1825	25	36	43	10	430	3809

APPENDIX II : Composition of the Student Body.

4. Students from the Ottawa-Hull area

155

	Ottawa Eastview	Hull Gatineau	Total	% of total registration
1959-60	945	157	1102	41.7
1960-61	908	155	1063	37.2
1961-62	977	204	1181	35.9
1962-63	1043	208	1251	35.5
1963-64	1167	261	1428	37.4

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

APPENDIX III : Brief presented by the University of
Ottawa to the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Messrs. Joint Chairmen,
Madam and Messrs. the Commissioners,

We take it for granted that the members of this 156
Commission are fully aware that, although the immediate
object of their enquiry is bilingualism and biculturalism,
they must never lose sight that the ultimate end of their
labours is the unity of the Canadian people. The recent
events which have been the prime motive of the institution
of the Commission support this conclusion. Therefore, all
the research undertaken and the interpretation of the
actual situation as well as the recommendations to be made
must be influenced by the determination to bring about the
psychological union of the Canadian people.

It is in this light that we venture to present the 157
Commission with the following suggestions bearing on both
the nature of its research and the methods we feel should
be adopted.

I. The Nature or Object of the Research:

a) First of all, the Commission must apply itself to 158
those specific tasks which are expressly set forth
in the Order-in-Council (P.C. 1963-1106) from which it
holds its powers, namely, "to inquire into and report upon
the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in
Canada". We believe, however, that this inquiry must take
into full account, firstly, the B.N.A. Act as it was enacted
nearly a century ago, that is, before Canada was definitely
formed and while the social climate did not evince special
preoccupations with mutual understanding "between the two

founding races" of the Confederation, and, secondly, the political, economic, demographic and psychological evolution which has marked the growth of Canada during that century. Surely, the Commission ought not to close its eyes to the social dynamism which has considerably altered the political and psychological complexion of Canada and be content with considering the mere letter of the constitutional act of 1867 and other acts enacted at the time of the constitution of new provinces.

If it is examined with a sense of objectivity by 159 experts in Constitutional Law, this comparison between the actual state of affairs and the law itself might possibly settle the too emotionally inspired debate on the urgency to amend or even to re-write the Constitution. It should, at least, indicate, on the one hand, how administrative decisions or even federal laws could more effectively define "the basically bicultural character of our country" (P.C. 1106) in all matters that fall within federal jurisdiction, and, on the other hand, the means whereby the federal government could exert a moral influence in the same direction in those fields which lie outside its legislative powers.

b) Secondly, it is a scientific, universal conclusion 160 of sociology that relations between the majority and the minorities in any given society are regulated not only by law but also by social motivations. For this reason, it does seem to us that, while a study of the constitutional aspect is necessary as a basis or starting point of the Commission's work, its most positive and rewarding efforts will be those bearing upon the sociological aspect. Indeed, the daily news coming to us from various parts of the world as well as the history of the past make it obvious that,

outside of dictatorships, laws which do not conform to social attitudes are, more often than not, provocative of passionate reactions and not seldom of revolutions.

As regards this sociological aspect, it might be 161
more advantageous to discover the opinion of Canadians generally on bilingualism and biculturalism, their respective conceptions, feelings and convictions in this respect than to devote much time and energy to the examination of the actual social conditions, that might be favorable or unfavorable to bilingualism. Such a study might possibly reveal the reasons why the French minority is ever prone to declare that they "do not feel at home outside of Quebec", that Canadians of English expression "have made (of Canada) a home to their taste" and "intend to keep it that way," and that this explains why so many French Canadians "regard this house as ever more inhabitable." The opinions culled among the French minorities outside of Quebec and the English-speaking minority in Quebec might very well be the most revealing; for it is but normal that the Quebec French should stress the peculiar situation of their province within the federal system, while the reactions of English-speaking Canadians far removed from French influence should be inspired almost exclusively by the Anglo-Saxon view of culture. The more than a century-old determination of the University of Ottawa to bring about a rapprochement between the two cultures has impressed us with the dangers inherent in such radically defined positions.

II. Methods of Inquiry:

Research into the constitutional problem and the 162
existing state of bilingualism does not present any methodological difficulties and the recruiting of experts

and technicians to undertake it has perhaps already been started by the Commission. Such is not the case with the sociological inquiry without which it seems to us difficult that the Commission could carry out the second part of its mandate, that is, "recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races." Whatever might be the ideal which could be contemplated with regard to the bilingualism of a people, it seems to us that the minimum to be realized is that the leaders in each group be capable of communicating among themselves with the assurance that mutual understanding will be complete. Are not the leaders the prime agents in the molding of public opinion and, consequently, is it not at this level that lie the most treacherous shoals that threaten the pact of confederation? If such is the case, it would seem imperative that they accept to provide the greatest contribution to the success of the Commission's labours, and this consideration is at the origin of the suggestions on methodology here made in schematic form for the sake of greater concision:

a) A systematic and scientific use could be made of 163
all the data pertaining to the subject which has
been accumulated by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion
over the last decade and which is on file at the Roper
Center in Williamstown, Mass.

b) Through the services of the same agency and other 164
research groups, surveys could be made across
Canada which would reveal by regions the popular convictions
on the subject.

Universities, in particular, could be of great 165
service to the Commission in the research itself and,

especially, in the scientific interpretation of the data obtained by distinguishing between the rational and the merely emotional motivations. The Graduate School of Psychology and Education at the University of Ottawa has already effected certain studies which could be of use, such as a critical bibliography on the knowledge of language and the rate of possible bilingualism, the testing of Penfield's neurological hypothesis in an actual school environment, a study on the presence and force of prejudices among both the English and the French-speaking. It is probable that other universities have completed or already undertaken similar projects in the field or, at least, would willingly undertake them.

At first sight, it might appear that such a procedure would unduly prolong the work of the Commission. 166
Were this result prove to be inevitable, we should be the first to oppose such a method. We believe, however, that the departments of Sociology, Psychology and Political Science of our Canadian universities would be willing to apply themselves with zeal and competence to undertake such research in their respective regions. And what a great advantage could not be derived from the active participation of such a great number of Canadians to the work of the Commission?

c) It would be advisable to draw up a list of concepts and problems, co-ordinated structurally into 167
a certain number of questions which the Commission could send upon request to all those who intend to present briefs, so that the greatest possible number of them would treat of these specific questions, thereby facilitating the comparison or contrasting of the answers and their sociological analysis. These would serve only as methodological guide-

lines without prejudice to the full content of the briefs, a minimal working-instrument which could be expanded at will.

d) Lastly, before the publication of a final 168
voluminous report, the Commission might be well advised to publish a preliminary or provisional report in the form of a summary or précis, in order that constructive criticism might opportunely express itself. This method would be more democratic and, in the long run, less costly, than suddenly to spring before the public the final report with the consequent risk of its not being accepted and of provoking harsh reactions as has happened in the past to not a few reports of other provincial or federal Royal Commissions.

November 8th, 1963

(Very Rev.) Henri F. Légaré, O.M.I.,
Rector of the University of Ottawa.

APPENDIX IV : University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

1. Convocation Address, Rev. H. Légaré, O.M.I.,
May 26, 1963.

A l'instar des individus, les institutions humaines 169
sont douées d'une personnalité qui les constitue dans un
"moi" collectif, fondé sur une unité et une identité
singulières. A leur nature essentielle, qui les situe
dans une espèce déterminée, s'ajoute une nature existen-
tielle, synthèse des conditions présentes à leur naissance,
des contingences de leur milieu, de leurs ressources
humaines et matérielles et des réalités successives,
subies imperceptiblement ou acceptées délibérément, qui
ont influé sur leur croissance. Tous ces éléments, liés
ensemble dans les représentations de la conscience col-
lective, définissent la personnalité de l'institution,
lui inspirent la volonté de vivre sa vie propre et de
survivre à tous les obstacles que peut lui susciter le
dynamisme actuel.

L'Université d'Ottawa, que j'ai l'honneur de diri- 170
ger, est une institution au caractère bien distinctif.
Née presque à mi-chemin entre le conflit sanglant de la
Rébellion de 1837 et l'accolade du pacte confédératif de
1867, elle se donnait pour mission, dès ses plus humbles
origines, le rapprochement psychologique des deux groupes
ethniques que les hasards de la guerre avaient réunis en
une association perpétuelle.

S'il est vrai, comme le disait en son discours 171
inaugural le nouveau Principal et vice-chancelier de
l'Université McGill, que le rôle d'une université est de
servir chaque génération dans ses exigences les plus

profondes sans s'attacher à des coutumes périmées et à des programmes désuets, l'histoire de l'expansion universitaire atteste qu'Ottawa est la seule université canadienne qui ait pleinement compris les conditions fondamentales du développement de notre pays.

Mesdames et messieurs, le temps est venu de faire 172
certaines mises au point. La première est que — sans les sacrifices énormes consentis par la Congrégation des Oblats de Marie Immaculée — ou bien le collège ou université d'Ottawa aurait croulé sous le poids des épreuves qui l'ont de tous temps assailli; ou bien, passant en d'autres mains, il aurait tôt perdu son caractère distinctif, le sens de sa mission, en un mot sa tradition, pour devenir une institution unilingue dans un milieu à forte prédominance anglophone.

Une seconde considération que notre temps rend 173
encore plus pertinente est que si, au moins depuis la Confédération, les autres institutions éducationnelles du Canada s'étaient inspirées des mêmes principes que notre Université, cette même confédération serait aujourd'hui plus fière de ses réalisations nationales que préoccupée de ses tensions internes, plus ambitieuse de jouer un rôle à l'échelle mondiale que tourmentée par les soucis de sa propre unité.

On parle de "la dernière chance de la Confédération". 174
Si cette menace était solidement fondée sur des faits irréversibles, ce serait confesser la faillite au Canada de l'enseignement universitaire, pépinière où se forment les chefs d'un Etat, les artisans de sa destinée. Dans une telle éventualité, seule l'Université d'Ottawa pourrait rejeter tout blâme; car elle seule s'est appliquée, dans une fidélité constante et selon ses humbles moyens, à réaliser les fins du pacte fédératif.

Je ne sais si je me trompe, mais j'éprouve le senti- 175
ment très vif de rencontrer la pensée de cet auditoire et,
en particulier, la vôtre, chers gradués d'aujourd'hui, en
affirmant qu'il est nécessaire que l'Université d'Ottawa
poursuive son oeuvre unique selon l'esprit qui l'a tou-
jours animée, dans l'accomplissement de la mission que
lui ont léguée ses fondateurs et en conformité d'une tra-
dition maintenant plus que séculaire.

Ladies and gentlemen, in earlier times, when educa- 176
tion was more a matter of free enterprise than of govern-
ment concern, each school was imbued with a character all
its own, animated by a special spirit and distinguished
in its particular identity. In a word, it was proud of
its tradition, bequeathed to it by its founders and
jealously preserved through all the vicissitudes of an
exacting world which is constantly preoccupied with the
new problems arising from continual scientific develop-
ments.

In these conditions, even memorable customs could 177
change and did change; but a custom is not a tradition.
It is only a certain way of doing things in conformity to
a given historical context. It is, thus, really subject
to change and may even be dropped altogether so that the
institution may adapt itself to the mutations of a cease-
lessly evolving society.

A tradition, however, is a spirit; it is the con- 178
viction of an indisputable excellence, the ideal whose
inspiration endures through all the changes in customs and
in spite of the more or less numerous deviations imputable
to human frailty. As an illustration, let me say that,
like the history of all nations, that of the English
people shows occasional divergences from the norms of
righteousness and even at times denials of justice; but

the honourable tradition of British Fair Play and English Justice always re-emerges to the surface, and at the present time it is nothing less than admirable to observe the efforts made by the British Government to safeguard the rights and interests of all parties concerned in the transition of her colonies to a state of independence. This tradition is the foundation of our hope that, in Ontario, the cradle of British culture in Canada, customs whose origins go back to a time when religious intolerance was rife and racial distrust was rampant, customs which were crystallized in the legislation of a hundred years ago, will soon be discarded in order that true British Fair Play and effectual English Justice shall prevail and flourish in our fair Province.

I could protract this disquisition on the difference 179 between custom and tradition by further illustrations taken from the history of other political societies such as the tradition of liberty of our good neighbours to the South which — though not without blemish in the deed — remains pure in the ideal and may serve as a beacon in our harassed world; but at this University commencement, I am especially interested in the traditions of educational institutions.

In this respect, I make bold to say that no Canadian 180 institution of higher learning has better preserved its personality than the University of Ottawa through its attachment to the traditions left it by its founders. My boastful claim rests on three considerations: firstly, these traditions were unique in that, rising above mere academic excellence, they evinced a deep concern for the greatness of a unified Canadian nation; secondly, in the religious, political and social context in which the University expanded, this legacy was fraught with

difficulties undreamed of by any other institution; and, thirdly, the recent social and political developments on the Canadian scene have shown how sound was the foresight of our founders — a foresight which other Canadian colleges and universities might well have had for the greatest benefit of our country.

This tradition, this ideal, which constitutes the 181
unique character or personality of the University of Ottawa and by which it will stand or fall, was explicitly described three weeks before the opening of the College of Bytown in a letter, dated July 18th, 1848, and written by Bishop Guigues, first bishop of Bytown, and a member of the Order which has built and directed this University. Bishop Guigues wrote: "Indeed, the college shall solidly cement the most durable bonds among the youth of different [racial] origins and faiths and shall erase the natural antipathies [which are] always deplorable [when they exist] among the citizens of a common country."

On August 18th, 1848, the first "Prospectus of the 182
College of Bytown" was issued and reproduced in the newspaper "The Packet". Among other information related to the regular course of instruction it specifically emphasized that "the study of the English and French languages which are indispensably necessary ... will be likewise particularly insisted upon."

At the risk of being repetitious, may I stress that 183
at the very time when responsible government had finally been achieved in Canada and the threat of annexation to the United States been averted, when — in the words of Professor Mason Wade in his scholarly work The French Canadians — "an English-French Canadian solidarity was achieved, as a result of which it was definitely settled that the continent was to be divided between two powers...

and that one power (that is, Canada) was to be bicultural", the founders of our University set out to cement the bonds of that English-French solidarity without which Canada's destiny could not be fulfilled. May I stress further that over one hundred years before the oecumenical movement, which we are now witnessing, the same religious men attempted to remove the natural antipathies among Canadian citizens of different faiths. This is the unique tradition, those were the guide-lines, which the University of Ottawa had endeavoured to follow in the face of difficulties that called for, and still exact, the greatest sacrifices.

Mesdames et messieurs, la mission que s'imposèrent 184
les fondateurs de notre Université fut une gageure, un acte de foi dans l'avenir d'un Canada qui ne s'étendait pas encore "a mari usque ad mare", mais dont la grandeur s'estompait déjà dans un mouvement encore hésitant vers l'union de toutes les colonies britanniques du Nord américain. Elle s'appuyait surtout sur la conviction que, si les éléments extrémistes peuvent avoir leur heure dans la vie d'une société, la raison — fondement de la collaboration sociale — finit toujours par recouvrer ses droits. Tenter d'opérer la rencontre, dès leur jeunesse, des hommes raisonnables de chaque groupe ethnique de la dualité canadienne et même d'éliminer les fanatismes, les antipathies naturelles — selon l'expression de Mgr Guigues — entre les diverses confessions religieuses, telle était la fin particulière de notre institution.

Sur les deux plans, la tâche ne fut pas facile. 185
Le navire, contrarié par les courants marins et le caprice des vents, ne trace pas derrière lui un droit sillage et, chaque jour, d'habiles calculs en doivent rectifier le cours. Ainsi en fut-il du Collège de Bytown lancé en 1848

avec 75 élèves et des moyens de fortune, activé par la seule foi de ses fondateurs et le courage des générations d'Oblats qui se sont succédés à sa direction. Devenu l'Université d'Ottawa qui décerne aujourd'hui même des grades bien mérités à 698 étudiants dans presque tous les domaines des sciences naturelles et humaines et des humanités, il a poursuivi sa mission propre.

Oh, je ne nierai pas que son histoire révèle quelque 186 sinuosité. Assujétie aux imprévisibles changements sociaux, entravée par la précarité de ses moyens financiers et gênée par l'insuffisance de son personnel, l'Université a subi de temps à autres des glissements généralement imperceptibles d'un côté ou de l'autre, jusqu'à ce qu'un coup de barre décisif l'oriente de nouveau dans le sens de sa vocation première. Cette fidélité à sa mission ne rencontra le plus souvent que l'incompréhension. Maintes fois en butte aux accusations irréfléchies d'anglicisation portées contre elle par certains groupes francophones — bien qu'on n'ait jamais pu citer aucun exemple de Canadien français qui y ait perdu sa fierté nationale — elle essuyait dans la même mesure les rebuffades de certains anglophones pour des motifs exactement opposés.

Sa tentative de réduire les antagonismes religieux 187 si déplorables quand ils opposent les citoyens d'une même patrie demeura stérile pendant la majeure partie de son histoire. L'invitation de l'Eglise à des contacts empreints de sérénité, que les non-catholiques accueillent aujourd'hui avec tant d'enthousiasme, ne rencontrait alors que dédain quand elle émanant de l'Université d'Ottawa. L'après-guerre allait tempérer cette méfiance et les nombreux non-catholiques de toutes croyances, inscrits maintenant à ses cours ou professant dans ses classes, garderont toujours la conviction que l'Université, malgré son

caractère confessionnel, est une institution de haut savoir, préoccupée avant tout d'une recherche objective de la vérité intégrale.

Dear graduates, as you leave this Institution and 188
set out to carve a career for yourselves, earnest in the hope — which is characteristic of youth — that you will play some role of leadership in the fulfillment of your country's purpose, may I remind you that you will be facing an unstable world. Wherever on this earth our thoughts roam, we find people wrought upon by a sense of insecurity, filled with hesitations and often exacerbated to the point of having recourse to extremist action which solves nothing but is, nevertheless, symptomatic of a universal economic, political and social unrest.

Leaving aside on this occasion the momentous con- 189
sequences of the newly acquired independence of the Afro-Asiatic peoples, we need to probe into the perplexing transformations of our own Western culture. A superficial view would readily see the cause of our anxiety in our technological progress — a progress of such magnitude that its ultimate outcome leaves us with a feeling not only of uncertainty but of dread. True, a threat to the spirit of man is implied in this material progress; but we must believe that the human wisdom which presided at this inventive evolution will also find the way to control it for the greater benefit of mankind.

The cause of our instability and disquiet lies 190
deeper. The conflict, I believe, is in the very soul of man. It is a struggle between the desire to return to the traditions of our civilization which upheld the spiritual values of justice, brotherhood and charity, on the one hand; and, on the other, the rear-guard action of the heirs to the opportunistic school.

Our times are slowly but inescapably withdrawing 191
from the utilitarianism of a Jeremy Bentham, the prag-
matism of a William James and the experimentalism of a
John Dewey. This anti-intellectual current interrupted
the spiritual tradition initiated by the philosophers of
our Greco-Roman civilization and preserved as sacred in
the Western world until it was broken down at the end of
the 18th century by the skepticism of David Hume. Now,
however, the question "Does it work?" is more and more
giving way to an order of principles and transcendental
norms as the criteria of the good and the bad, the right
and the wrong of individual behaviour and social action.

While respectful of objective research in all 192
fields of human knowledge, the University of Ottawa has
always sought to instil in the minds of its students the
primacy of spiritual values which, alone, are the sound
basis and foundation of human rights and freedom, and we
applaud the evident concern of the younger generation —
your generation, my friends — to discover a more universal
and more stable meaning to life than the answers given
heretofore by the short-sighted, vacillating and shifting
experimentalism of the past generation.

May you remain convinced that, by living up to the 193
spiritual traditions of justice, brotherhood and charity
of your Alma Mater, you will also be working — as leaders
of your country — towards a greater and a better Canada,
united in the true conception of an indivisible Social
Justice.

APPENDIX IV : University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

2. Editorial, Toronto Star, May 27, 1963.

Is This Discrimination?

The head of the University of Ottawa, the Very Rev. 194
H.F. Legare, has called on the Ontario government for
"fair play" in providing provincial education grants.

Ottawa University gets none now. In contrast, 195
Carleton University, also in Ottawa, is this year getting
\$4,200,000. Provincial financial assistance to a dozen
other universities ranges up to \$19 1/2 million to the
University of Toronto.

The lack of grants to the University of Ottawa 196
seems like discrimination. The fact is, however, that it
is still a denominational college, operated by the Oblate
Fathers. It is a principle established for 100 years that
no provincial tax money shall be paid to private educa-
tional institutions.

It is for this reason that Trinity College, 197
federated with the University of Toronto, gets no direct
provincial grants, either. It is an Anglican institution.

Premier Robarts restated the principle in his 198
notable speech to the Legislature last February, dealing
with the Roman Catholic "bishops' brief" for more tax
money for separate elementary schools and a separated
Roman Catholic educational system through to university.

Separate elementary schools are constitutionally a 199
part of the public education system. Premier Robarts
recognized this in providing them with a new tax deal.
Separate high schools and colleges are not.

The bilingual University of Ottawa has since the 200
war developed from a small, parochial college into a major
Ontario university with numerous faculties and a student
body representative of many denominations. But it has so
far not ventured on the last step taken by other univer-
sities, which also grew out of denominational colleges.

McMaster in Hamilton, for example, became a public 201
university, retaining its Baptist affiliation only in its
divinity school.

Might not the University of Ottawa do likewise? The 202
spiritual values it cherishes could be nurtured through a
separate theological college, while making the rest of the
university non-denominational, and therefore, eligible for
grants.

Any extension of provincial grants to denominational 203
colleges and universities would, we believe, weaken the
structure of higher education in Ontario.

APPENDIX IV : University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

3. Bloc Note, André Laurendeau, Le Devoir, May 30, 1963.

L'université d'Ottawa:
vain appel au fair play?

Le T.R.P. Henri F. Légaré, o.m.i., lance dimanche 204
dernier un appel au "fair play britannique" et à la
"justice anglaise", il veut que l'université d'Ottawa,
dont il est le recteur, reçoive sa part normale des sub-
ventions provinciales.

Le Toronto Star du lendemain répond en éditorial, 205
et résume d'abord les faits. L'université d'Ottawa ne
reçoit rien, alors que le gouvernement ontarien distribue
aux autres universités une vingtaine de millions, dont
\$4,200,000 à l'université Carleton, l'autre université
outaouaise. On se croirait donc devant un cas de discri-
mination.

Pourtant il n'en est rien, poursuit le quotidien 206
de Toronto. La difficulté tient à ce que l'université
d'Ottawa est une université confessionnelle. Or c'est
un principe établi depuis un siècle qu'en éducation la
finance publique, dans la province, ne subventionne jamais
des institutions privées. Le premier ministre Robarts l'a
rappelé dans son discours de février dernier: le système
ontarien accepte l'école séparée au degré élémentaire,
mais non à l'échelle du high school et du collège.

Cette loi s'applique à tous, rappelle le Toronto 207
Star. C'est ainsi que Trinity College, institution angli-
cane, ne reçoit lui non plus aucune subvention provinciale.
Par contre, l'université McMaster, de Hamilton, obtient sa

part depuis que cette ancienne maison baptiste a consenti à devenir une université publique, dont seule la faculté de théologie demeure confessionnelle.

Le Star conclut que l'université d'Ottawa devrait en 208 faire autant: qu'elle se déconfessionnalise, tout en conservant un "collège" de théologie. Les autres facultés recevront alors automatiquement l'appui financier de Toronto.

Pas de discrimination : mais...

Reconnaissons avec le Toronto Star que l'université 209 d'Ottawa n'est pas la victime d'une loi d'exception. Elle subit la règle générale.

Nous ne savons point, par ailleurs, quelle solution 210 les autorités de cette maison regarderaient comme acceptable, et nous ne parlons pas en son nom.

Ce qui nous frappe est d'un autre ordre. 211

Dans Québec on a trouvé le moyen de laisser la mino- 212 rité s'organiser dans la liberté. Ses institutions sont éligibles aux subventions provinciales.

Mais l'Ontario n'a pas réussi à créer un système 213 équivalent. Pour recevoir l'appui financier du gouvernement, l'université d'Ottawa devrait modifier ses propres structures. Voilà où le bât nous blesse.

Nous aurions fort bien pu établir ici des principes 214 généraux qui priveraient les institutions anglaises et protestantes des subventions provinciales. Cela n'a jamais été fait. Mais cela existe depuis un siècle en Ontario.

Voici, il nous semble, un bon exemple des attitudes 215 qui empêchent les Canadiens français de se sentir chez eux en dehors du Québec. Certes, on les accepte, mais à la condition qu'ils pensent et agissent comme tout le monde.

Un phénomène historique

On répondra qu'il ne s'agit pas des Canadiens 216
français en tant que tels, mais de catholiques qui
veulent faire reconnaître une institution confessionnelle.
C'est exact. Mais en pratique, cela revient au même, car
l'immense majorité des institutions d'enseignement, au
Canada français, sont confessionnelles: c'est historique-
ment notre façon de concevoir l'école. Ce problème est
réexaminé aujourd'hui au sein du Canada français, mais
c'est là une discussion entre nous, et qui nous regarde
seuls. Il reste qu'en Ontario une institution fondée par
les Canadiens français, de la façon dont nous avons créé
toutes nos maisons d'enseignement, ne recevra sa part de
subventions que si elle accepte le modèle anglo-canadien.

Reconnaissons que le problème est difficile à 217
résoudre. Mais depuis qu'il se pose, on n'a jamais tenté
efficacement d'y parvenir, sauf en nous forçant de ressem-
bler aux Canadians.

APPENDIX IV : University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

4. Editorial, Vincent Prince, La Presse, June 10, 1963.

"Fair play" très douteux

Un lecteur a eu l'amabilité de nous transmettre la 218
traduction française d'un récent éditorial du "Toronto
Star" commentant l'appel lancé par le recteur de l'Uni-
versité d'Ottawa au gouvernement ontarien en faveur de
son institution. Le R.P. H. F. Légaré, O.M.I., se plai-
gnait d'un traitement injuste, d'une véritable discrimina-
tion à l'endroit de l'école de haut-savoir qu'il dirige.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de lire cet éditorial au 219
complet. Il se résume facilement. Le quotidien toron-
tois explique, en somme, que si la constitution force le
gouvernement ontarien à subventionner les écoles séparées
au niveau élémentaire, rien ne l'y oblige aux niveaux
supérieur et universitaire. De toute façon, l'université
d'Ottawa n'a qu'à se "déconfessionnaliser" comme l'a fait
jadis le collège baptiste McMaster, et elle recevra des
subventions comme toutes les institutions du genre.

Le "Globe and Mail", autre quotidien torontois, 220
vient d'abonder à peu près dans le même sens. La consti-
tution, écrit-il, nous fait une obligation de maintenir
les écoles séparées au palier élémentaire. Ce principe
n'a jamais été étendu à l'éducation supérieure parce que
la loi ne l'exige pas et parce qu'il serait économiquement
impossible de le faire sans injustice pour l'une ou l'autre
des diverses confessions religieuses. Il n'y a pas que
des catholiques et des protestants en Ontario: il y a des
Grecs orthodoxes, des Juifs, des athées, etc. Le budget

ontarien ne saurait pourvoir à une éducation complète selon les standards actuels pour chacune de ces catégories.

On admettra que l'argument basé sur l'obligation constitutionnelle a de quoi nous laisser rêveur. En tout cas, au Québec, quand il s'agit de rendre justice à la minorité, nous n'avons pas cette habitude de scruter le texte constitutionnel de crainte d'aller au-delà de nos obligations. Ce qui se fait au Québec, province dont le budget est inférieur à celui de l'Ontario, doit pouvoir s'accomplir dans cette dernière province. Le fait qu'on a toléré une injustice pendant cent ans ne saurait rien changer à la question. 221

Vincent PRINCE

APPENDIX IV : University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

5. Editorial, Globe and Mail, May 30, 1963.

Justice and University Grants

The Very Rev. H.F. Legare, rector of the University 222
of Ottawa, has called upon the Government of Ontario to
treat the university with British fair play and English
justice, by making grants to the university in the same
way in which it makes grants to non-denominational uni-
versities in the Province.

The fact is that the Government has, since 1949, 223
been treating the University of Ottawa with a generosity
not displayed toward any other denominational college or
university in the Province. It has been established
Provincial policy for more than 90 years that denomina-
tional institutions of higher learning shall not be
eligible for grants from the public purse. Yet Ottawa
University, which is operated by the Oblate Fathers of
Mary Immaculate of the Roman Catholic Church, has since
1949 received maintenance and capital grants of
\$15,725,000.

This total compares very favourably with the total 224
of \$16,475,000 received in the same period by Carleton
University, a non-denominational institution in the same
city. In calling for fair play and justice, Father
Legare does not exhibit a high degree of gratitude for
favours received.

The grants made to Ottawa were restricted to the use 225
of its Medical Faculty and its Faculty of Applied Science
and Engineering. The Government justified its break with
established policy on the grounds that these faculties

were not theological, that there was an acute shortage of French-speaking doctors to look after the French-speaking population in Ontario, and that the science and engineering faculty gave Ontario's French-speaking population new and wider horizons that were greatly needed.

The Government's excuses can perhaps be accepted on 226
behalf of the medical faculty, where a direct physical need of some of its citizens was involved, but not on the part of the science faculty. The suspicion must arise that the Government bent its own rules and the rules of its predecessors because of the strong Quebec connections of Ottawa University and its relation to Ontario's French-speaking population. In conciliating these, however, it has been unjust to the institutions of higher learning operated by other denominations in this Province, and to the adherents of those denominations.

Ontario's refusal to provide public funds to church- 227
controlled education at the secondary or university level has been clearly established since two years after Confederation and is based on sound democratic principle. Public support of church-operated elementary schools is a Constitutional requirement. But the principle has not been extended beyond that, except in the case of Ottawa University, and ought not to be.

This is a Province in which citizens are adherents 228
of many religions, and some are adherents of none. It would be an economic impossibility to provide complete, separate educational facilities for each group; and it is contrary to democratic principle to tax all to provide such facilities for some. It was the Government of a Roman Catholic Premier, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, which in 1869 decided that only non-denominational universities should be eligible for public support.

Father Legare must be aware of this long-enduring 229
Government policy, and of the reasoning behind it. He
also knows what Ottawa University can do to make itself
eligible for Provincial grants. It can do what McMaster
University of Hamilton, a Baptist institution, did. This
was to become chartered as a non-denominational university,
while retaining a theological faculty. Secular faculties
and facilities thus became eligible for public support,
while the theological faculty and facilities did not.

If the University of Ottawa should apply and become 230
chartered as a non-denominational university, it would be
entitled, for its non-theological faculties, to the treat-
ment which Father Legare demands. These are the only
terms under which Queen's Park should grant the university
any wider support.

APPENDIX IV :- University of Ottawa and Provincial Grants.

6. Bloc Note, André Laurendeau, Le Devoir, June 6, 1963.

L'Université d'Ottawa et le

"Globe and Mail"

Nous avons résumé la semaine dernière la réponse du 231
Toronto Star aux réclamations formulées par le recteur de
l'Université d'Ottawa. Le T.R.P. Légaré lançait un appel
au fair play et au sens de la justice des Anglo-Canadiens
de l'Ontario.

Le Toronto Star répondait par un refus aimable. Le 232
Globe and Mail, quotidien conservateur influent, également
de Toronto, prononce un non roide et sans appel.

Depuis 90 ans, écrit le Globe, c'est la politique de 233
l'Ontario de ne pas subventionner l'enseignement confes-
sionnel, sauf au stade élémentaire. Or en dépit de ce
principe, le gouvernement ontarien a traité généreusement
deux facultés de l'Université d'Ottawa: la médecine et
les sciences appliquées. En somme, ç'a été une concession
aux Canadiens français, et une injustice vis-à-vis les
autres institutions ontariennes à caractère confessionnel
qui n'ont rien reçu.

Or le principe de la non-confessionnalité absolue 234
s'impose dans une province comme l'Ontario. En consé-
quence de quoi, si le Globe and Mail était logique, il
demanderait la suppression des subventions consenties
pour des motifs particuliers à l'Université d'Ottawa.
Il ne va pas jusque-là, mais telle est évidemment la
direction de sa pensée.

Que devrait faire l'institution canadienne- 235
française? Selon le Globe and Mail — comme selon le
Toronto Star et la majorité des Ontariens qui n'ont pas
bougé d'un iota là-dessus —, il ne reste à l'Université
d'Ottawa qu'à rentrer dans le rang, à imiter la plupart
des institutions anglophones, à se déclarer neutre pour
pouvoir profiter de toutes les subventions que le gouver-
nement ontarien serait prêt à lui verser.

Il nous faut donc reprendre notre conclusion de la 236
semaine dernière. Une fois admis que le problème est
difficile, nous mettons en parallèle la situation de deux
provinces voisines:

Le Québec a trouvé le moyen de laisser sa propre 237
minorité s'organiser librement. Les institutions de la
minorité, à tous les stades, reçoivent les subventions de
l'Etat sans avoir à modifier leur caractère.

Mais l'Ontario n'a pas même essayé de créer l'équi- 238
valent. Aujourd'hui encore, la province refuse de
réexaminer l'ensemble de la question. Ce qu'elle donne
à l'Université d'Ottawa, elle le fait à titre de conces-
sion, en évoquant des motifs spéciaux. Tout ce qu'elle
trouve à proposer, c'est que l'Université d'Ottawa de-
vienne autre chose. Là-dessus, l'attitude est fermée —
aussi fermée qu'hier et avant-hier.

Les Canadiens anglais se sont bâti une maison pour 239
eux. Ils tiennent à la garder telle. Voilà pourquoi
tant de Canadiens français regardent de plus en plus cette
maison comme inhabitable.

ANDRE L.

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ANNEX

to the Brief prepared by the University of Ottawa

in December, 1964

and

presented to

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

December 1965

The Brief presented by the University of Ottawa to the Royal Commission some months ago was completed in December, 1964.

Since then, important changes, mostly of a juridical or legal nature, have affected the administrative structure and management of the University.

However, it must be directly stressed that the traditionally bilingual character of the University of Ottawa so consistently emphasized in the Brief has not thereby been modified. On the contrary, as will be briefly shown hereafter, the new provincial charter of the University of Ottawa which came into force on July 1st, 1965, gives explicit recognition to this bilingual character of the institution.

As a result of this official recognition by the Ontario Legislature and the consequent financial aid available to all its faculties and schools, it may be taken for granted that the University's previously uncertain future now appears in the light of renewed hopes. True to its traditions and in the full consciousness of its sacred duty, the University is bound to pursue still more efficiently its own proper mission as a bilingual and bicultural institution for the greater benefit of the province and the whole of Canada.

Sometime after the Brief had received its final form, talks were initiated between the Government of the province of Ontario and the University of Ottawa with a view to arrive at a mutually acceptable formula whereby the distinctive personality of the century-old institution

might continue to prevail without incurring the penalty of an indefinite exclusion from the governmental grants enjoyed by the other universities of the province.

These discussions, we believe, were crowned with success resulting in the enactment of The University of Ottawa Act, 1965, by the Ontario Legislature on June 21st, 1965, which Act came into force on July 1st of this same year.

The name "Université d'Ottawa" or "University of Ottawa", so long identified in fact and, in some respects, in law with that of the Oblates, is handed down as a legacy of a worthy past and a promising future to a new corporation in which laymen predominate and which will alone benefit from public funds. The ecclesiastical and civil charters of the old corporation formerly administered by the Oblates survive in the new Saint Paul University which is federated with the University of Ottawa. The former holds in abeyance its powers of conferring civil degrees, being content to maintain a faculty of theology with certain dependent institutes and a faculty of canon law.

That which stands out in more vivid relief in the new charter is the fact that the province shows a keen awareness of the very special character of our institution and of the part it must play in our society. This bilingual and bicultural character is now officially recognized. Thus, there is no gap between the former and the present University of Ottawa, in this respect.

Section 17 of the Act leaves no room for doubt on this point. As it makes the Senate responsible for the educational policy of the University, it defines its power "to control, regulate and determine the educational policy of the University according to Christian principles and its bilingual tradition and character." (The underlining is ours).

Not only does the Act sustain a policy that rests equally upon an ideal and the requirements of actual conditions, but it positively invests the University of Ottawa with a special duty in regard to the province: "to further bilingualism and biculturalism and to preserve and develop French culture in Ontario." (art. 4,c).

~~The mandate is clear and all-embracing. It sets no~~ restrictions within the confines of university activity. On the contrary, it gives full scope to the initiative and the freedom of action of the administrative and teaching staffs in the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism both within the walls of the University and in its expanding sphere of influence. Increased financial resources will enable the University to pursue with a more vigorous zeal the experiment it has carried through a hundred years by dint of painful efforts and with limited success.

It behooves the entire university community to develop a keen awareness of its newly formulated responsibility and to fulfil its mandate in a spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding. Indeed, it is not the laws but the men who instil a distinctive spirit, a soul, into an institution and make it what it is. The quality of the University's bilingualism and biculturalism in the years to come will

precisely depend on the sustained endeavours of the whole University community. It will be of a high order if there exists a collective will to live and work in a genuine spirit of collaboration for a lofty but difficult purpose, the fulfilment of a task which is essential to the common good, the welfare of the province and the prosperity of the whole country.

In this way will the University of Ottawa continue to be a laboratory of bilingualism and biculturalism in the very heart of the Capital of Canada.

Already a wide-spreading movement has appeared among the teaching staff. Since last September, sixty professors have been following special courses in French and eight in English. Professors' wives have also expressed a desire to follow suit and profit by these practical courses.

This spontaneous initiative of the teachers is a sure indication of the spirit with which the teaching staff is animated and of its will to be of greater service to the common cause. It is a sign that the vitality of the University's bilingual tradition is permeating every branch of this growing tree. Thus, when the modification of the administrative structure with all its implications was referred to as "the second spring" of the University, the comparison was not pure fantasy.

The student body is also part of the University community and its influence will weigh heavily on the bilingualism and biculturalism of the University of Ottawa. And in this, our institution is still faced with a grave situation over which it has no control. A relatively

large number of Franco-Ontarian Grade XII and Grade XIII students apply for admission, inadequately prepared to pursue higher studies in their mother tongue as they desire and have a right to do. If the University of Ottawa is to comply with its mission and fulfil the mandate given to it, it is constrained to bear the whole cost of a very expensive pre-university year. It does not seem that this gap in bilingual education in Ontario is soon to be closed. It will continue to be detrimental not only to the University of Ottawa, but to the whole French-speaking population of the province.

To conclude the first part of this supplementary brief, it can be said that since July 1st, 1965, of its own accord and with the will to adapt itself to the needs of modern society, the University of Ottawa has made itself eligible for provincial grants on the same basis as the other Ontario universities. Most of the problems rightly raised in the Brief may henceforth be solved in a constructive way. May credit be given to all to whom credit is due.

The foregoing remarks do not deal with the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism as it affects the Canadian society as a whole, but only with the new developments in the life of the bilingual University of Ottawa. Since our institution's experience constitutes the framework of the main brief, it was necessary that these recent developments and their prospective consequences be outlined before the Commission.

An observation more pertinent to the contents of the Brief is also necessary. Reference is made to para 100 (p.58) of the text to which an amendment should be made by deleting the last four lines, the paragraph ending with the words "... cultural aspirations". The categorical character of the statement to be deleted might lead some readers to believe that the powers of intervention of the federal government are literally spelled out in the B.N.A. Act, which is not the case with respect to language in education. As to any implied federal powers, it is presumed that the whole matter will be carefully investigated by the Royal Commission.

December 10th, 1965

CAY 21
1/3/64

BRIEF OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
STUDENTS' UNION

Presented in writing on July 1, 1964, to the
ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

MEMOIRE DE
L'ASSOCIATION GENERALE DES ETUDIANTS
DE L'UNIVERSITE DU MANITOBA

Presente par ecrit le 1er juillet 1964 a la
COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUETE SUR LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME

La version française de ce mémoire sera mise à la disposition des
intéressés lors de sa présentation publique à la Commission Royale

INTRODUCTION

- i) The brief of The University of Manitoba Students' Union was compiled by a committee of three students chosen by the council.
- ii) The ideas expressed in this brief are based on those gathered at hearings held to discover student opinion at The University of Manitoba. Yet it can not be denied that the brief also represents the unanimous opinion of the committee.
- iii) The hearings were held on four afternoons in late January and early February, 1964, and convened in three places: the University campus, United College, and Le College de St. Boniface. More than thirty briefs were received at these hearings. In addition to these formal sessions, smaller seminars and spontaneous discussions took place among the students. The University newspaper, The Manitoban, gave good coverage to the committee's work.
- iv) As a result of these factors, the committee feels that the students of The University of Manitoba possess some grasp of the problem, and that they are hence competent to present this brief.
- v) At the completion of the hearings, a summary was then presented to the council of the Students' Union where it was unanimously accepted. The following brief is drawn up on the basis of this summary and has been reviewed by the executive of the council.
- vi) As a result of the use of these procedures, we feel confident that this brief presents a reasonable synopsis of student opinion at The University of Manitoba,
- vii) The brief consists of four basic parts:
 - The first part draws the conclusions.
 - The second makes suggestions and recommendations.
 - The third presents a discussion on the problem and nature of Manitoba.
 - The fourth part consists of an appendix including the main briefs received.

CONCLUSIONS

- 1-1 The committee has drawn up three main conclusions. The first two treat specifically of problems of a cultural nature. The third conclusion is drawn up not because it is constructive in itself, but because it is, we feel, a necessary truth about racial problems.

LANGUAGE

- 1-2 Canada was founded by two main language groups. In all its treaties and documents after 1759, both of these language groups were to form a real and indispensable part of Canada. Today, this is still the truth and consequently the committee,

1) endorses a bilingual Canada.

- 1-3 That is, bilingual meaning Canada's two official languages are English and French. This recognizes the Citizenship Act which claims that either language (not both) is sufficient requirement to be a citizen. This recognizes Section 133 of the BNA Act which makes the federal legislature and federal courts and the legislature of Quebec bilingual.

- 1-4 It does not mean that any other or all provincial governments should be bilingual.

- 1-5 It does mean that the Federal Civil Service should strive towards bilingualism in the coming years - and do so not only by hiring bilingual people but also supplying teaching facilities for interested employees.

- 1-6 It does mean that other federal organs should strive to be bilingual.

- 1-7 It does mean that Canadian Foreign Affairs should be handled by a bilingual department.

CULTURE

- 1-8 It is inconceivable for anyone to think that Canada has only two cultural heritages. It is evident that all Canadian citizens, whether they be part of the masses or the elite, contribute to

1-8 Cont'd..

culture which will be thought of by posterity as Canadians.

1-9 In this respect the Committee endorses:

2) freedom in Canada for cultural expression.

back by
NGO?

1-10 This means that all participating groups have a right and duty to contribute to their country of adoption and to strive to assimilate the contributions of other groups. This means that government organs should not discriminate for or against any cultural entity. This does imply that:

1-11 French Canadian Singers, Dominique Michèle and Félix Leclerc
Scottish Highland Games in Ontario
The Chinese Festival in Vancouver
Indian and Eskimo Festivals in the North
Inventor Graham Bell
all form part of a Canadian cultural heritage.

1-12 It implies that all Canadians worthy of being such, will recognize the important contribution of each people and group and will not discount them from their origin.

1-13 It recognizes that today the federal government supports a bilingual CBC; the emphasis is on bilingual and this means should be used to carry Canadian contributions to other Canadians in their language.

RACE

1-14 In view of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec the committee

3) strongly suspects that many French Canadians are neither for bilingualism and biculturalism nor for Canada but are racist and that those demands are destructive to the proper harmony of our whole country.

1-15 This means that they will do more than is warranted to support their own group.

1-16 This means that they are not promoting a fair partnership as they would want others to give them.

what
aspect
unfair?

RACE Cont'd..

1-17 This means that ~~to solve our national problem,~~ racism has to
be the first victim, and that ethnic considerations must be
abolished as much as is humanly possible.

As a result of its enquiry the committee makes the following

RECOMMENDATIONS

EDUCATION

- 2-1 All students should be given opportunity to learn English and French both conversationally and written in all their years of primary and secondary schools.
- 2-2 Students in high-school should have the option of taking one or two non-language courses in French (e.g. Histoire du Canada).
- 2-3 That there is no excuse for lack of French teachers. In Winnipeg, for instance, the school board goes to England and Scotland to hire teachers. It could as easily go to France to get French teachers.
- 2-4 That Ukrainian and other languages for which there is a sufficient demand be made available as options in high-school, but not sooner.
- 2-5 That all University students take at least two years of a second language course of their choice.
- 2-6 That the Canada Council and/or other institutions give more financial help to aid post-graduate students to also go to France and other French areas instead of almost exclusively to British institutions.
- 2-7 That curricula of more universities be expanded under government sponsorship to establish schools for translators.
- 2-8 In the case of Manitoba, the committee feels that French demands for completely French schools are unrealistic in the light of social and economic surroundings. French as a common language in Manitoba is losing ground, and in many homes, French is nothing more than a grammatically incorrect "patois". The strength of French people is in individuals that, well suited to their surroundings, make progress in French culture and make French culture progress.

CULTURE

- 2-9 That the Queen's Printer continue its operation as is and expands its bilingual services.
- 2-10 That an appropriate agency such as the Queen's Printer publish books on Canada and its many heritages, i.e. historical and biographical notes as well as narratives.

- 2-11 That the government through the Canada Council subsidize more authors of all Canadian background.
- 2-12 That the government give more importance to cultural achievements of its citizens.
- 2-13 That the CBC network expand its role not only as a cultural link between Canadians of a similar background but also its role as a language link between Canadians of differing backgrounds.
- 2-14 That the Canadian Union of Students receive government grants to use for inter regional student exchanges.
- 2-15 That attempts be made to introduce the French and non-French communities to each other and to outside French cultures. For instance, French courses in schools should include the contemporary Quebec popular songs of protest and the poetry of Léopold Senghor of Sénégal, as well as the works of Saint-Exupéry, Molière, and Sartre. In Manitoba, for instance, University students should be allowed to take some courses at the Collège and vice-versa.

GOVERNMENT

- 2-16 That the federal legislature definitely remain bilingual in its proceedings.
- 2-17 That Canadians realize and accept the fact that in many instances the money spent to duplicate documents in two languages is the same as money spent to perpetuate the British Monarchy, Windmills in Holland, or Castles in France. They form part of our country and of its past and most of all, we hope, of its future.
- 2-18 That the federal civil service be increasingly bilingual in the higher echelons of the hierarchy.
- 2-19 That bilingual employees be favoured when other pertinent qualifications are equal.
- 2-20 That wage scales of the civil service reconcile in a profitable way people that are bilingual.
- 2-21 That the civil service commission give opportunity to its employees to learn the second language if they are interested.
- 2-22 That the service of translation be improved and expanded to prevent unforgivable mistakes (especially in French) such as the following in the Winnipeg International Airport: aéroport internationale, journeaux. These are only two of many mistakes of a grammatical nature,

2-22 Cont'd..

not to mention execrable sentence constructions often found. These mistakes appear all over government publications, advertisements, and politician's pamphlets. They are an important handicap to a truly bilingual country for they cause many a French person to wonder if it is worth having a translation if it only means a perpetual massacre of French as a written language.

MANITOBA

- 3-1 Manitobans are interested in the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism because of their peculiar nature. Manitoba joined Confederation on a similar footing as Quebec - as a bilingual province - but it was not long before the French in Manitoba lost their precarious balance. From the turn of the century onward to the last war, the West was swept by a surge of immigrants and Manitoba was right at their focus. As a consequence, the French population of Manitoba represents less than 10% of the total provincial population. Other population divisions are 43% Anglo-Saxon and 48% the third force which includes a large element of Ukrainians (13%).
- 3-2 Consequently, the Westerner's interpretation of the problem confronting our country has a tendency towards ethnocentrism and one's group outlook is often at great variance with another's. The Ukrainians consider their numerical strength and conclude that they deserve everything the French desire. It is evident from their demands that they do not perceive the distinctive qualities which exist between the two ethnic groups.
- 3-3 The opposite idea which emanates from the West is represented by a statement made by Father L. Guy S. J. in Montreal concerning French education in the West. He said that St. Boniface College would have to close its doors if French schools were not established in the province. This strong concentration of awareness on the part of French Manitobans is, in a sense, the key to the difference between Quebec (who has all the education it wants) and the 1,000,000 French Canadians which live outside Quebec.
- 3-4 Fortunately, in comparison with other sectors of the population, the Anglo-Saxons' views on occasion are more sympathetic and tolerant towards French Canadian demands. Their conception of the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism includes a broader consideration of the subject, though it is often coupled with a disarming objectivity, an objectivity foreign to the French Canadian outlook. On the other hand, the latter's ideas of what the situation should be is too often dependent on an emotional quality and not often enough tempered with

3-4 Cont'd..

a consideration of the practicalities which must inhere in any suggestion aimed at solving the difficulties of the problem.

3-5 The minority groups lumped together form nearly 50% of the West and 30% of the whole country. On the other hand, the French form only 8% of the West and also 30% of the country. Looking at these figures, the Ukrainians, Poles, etc., feel that in the West at least they deserve the same consideration if not more than the French. One main omission is the subdivision in the third force. In Canada, nearly 8 per cent of the population is German and 6 per cent Ukrainian, and all other groups are near or less than 4 per cent. The German group, the largest third element, have, as a group made no real opposition to the present trend. The most active groups are the Ukrainians, and to some extent the Poles. They seem to fear that they are being discounted: that the Confederation pie is being divided and that they are not getting their fair share. They look around and don't see many French-Canadians, perhaps the occasional ten year old who is walking three or four miles on the road to his parochial school. They read an occasional press release from Quebec about some extremist group and judge it accordingly. They fear that if bilingualism and biculturalism is to be extended, secret police will come to make them speak every second word in French.

3-6 What is often forgotten is a historical and legal truth. Canada was and is bilingual. When members of today's third force came to the West, they chose to speak English as their "Canadian Language". To do so was entirely their free choice. Today, English is often the only language known to them but the feeling is strong that if people of French origin and language are granted concessions (i.e. their legitimate right), so should their mother tongue be honored with all the rights and privileges of officialism. Their only conceivable intent is to create such chaos as to assure the survival only of English as Canada's official language.

3-7 Yet they cannot be entirely blamed for their negative approach when the only contact they have with French culture is the overplayed French parochial schools question and when the only strong demand from the French in the West is for aid to parochial schools.

3-7 Cont'd..

Unfortunately, in the eyes of too many Manitobans the question of language and religion has become interchangeable and it would seem that French Canadian Catholics are trying to take advantage of the present debate concerning these matters to put in additional bids for aid to their schools. This is done to the great embarrassment of many other private school systems, including English Catholic schools.

3-8 French Canadians in the West are a group apart from Quebec. They are considered different and consider themselves different. Many proponents of the mosaic structure of English Canada include the Western French Canadian as part of that structure. The western French Canadian is at a cultural stage many years behind that of Quebec. Led and exhorted by their clergy, they have maintained in parts of St. Boniface and in some scattered rural communities (La Salle, Letellier, Ste. Rose du Lac, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes) a community life built around a school taught by members of the clergy, the Caisse Populaire, les Chevaliers de Colomb and a number of men and women's religious organizations. They have retained French as their "langue du foyer" and also use it to a limited extent in small business, transactions among themselves.

3-9 One of the proudest achievements of the French Canadian community is the maintenance of St. Boniface College founded in the last century and one of the three founding colleges of The University of Manitoba. It is the only "college classique" in the West.

3-10 The Collège faces currently two problems. First, because of the attraction exercised by the surrounding culture on the young and for financial reasons, the parochial school system is having increasing difficulties in providing an adequate supply of students ready for University level studies. Father Guy, as mentioned earlier, has threatened the future closing of the Collège if no French (and Catholic) public school system is established.

3-11 Second, a high percentage of the Collège's graduates migrate (flee) to Quebec. They feel that remaining in Manitoba would be cultural suicide. Thus the community is deprived of its potential elite. Those who remain generally go into post graduate studies, the most popular being law and education. Because of this eastward movement, those staying in Manitoba suffer a stagnant if not a declining cultural and educational level.

3-12 The cure-all, end-all solution for French Canadian problems in the West seems to be to push for French schools, to teach a full curriculum in French and thus increase the student population of St. Boniface College. This attitude is at best unrealistic. French Canadians in general are not willing to wait for long-sought results. ("We've waited long enough"). Many parents would be unwilling to see their children grow up with only an elementary knowledge of English. They realize that this would mean economic suicide for their children. Upon examination it becomes evident that the program of studies at St. Boniface College has only a limited appeal. It is a classical College and many want to go directly into other, more specialized studies. It is also hard to conceive that students graduating from an all-French institution should be capable of going to an all-English university to take post graduate work or specialized studies. Therefore, the stream of students to Quebec would still exist, and the loss would be immeasurable.

3-13 The long range answer for the West lies in the hands of Quebec. If Quebec wants it can drown its embarrassing 98,000 French Canadian cousins in Manitoba. Yet if they really want to strengthen Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between French and English, Quebec must help the French in the West. The next logical is how this can be done. Much could be achieved if an equal partnership were created, not only between the two founding races, but also between French Canadians in Quebec and those outside. French Canadians of the East should widen the scope of their activities to include all French Canadians - When "things" are to be done by and/or for the French Canadians, everybody should be included. Specifically in the case of universities, the French caucus of C.U.S. should include all French institutions of higher learning outside Quebec. French Canadians in the West are foster children, and the only parents that can adopt them is Quebec.

3-14 But the child must learn to help himself. First of all he must adapt himself to his entourage. When he becomes an important and successful person, he will then be sought after for leadership. The man who lacks a knowledge of English and has therefore difficulty in procuring suitable employment will not have enough money to buy and

3-14 Cont'd...

read a French book or be an active member of his community. French Canadians must realize that they cannot impose a French economic community on the West. They must become properly bilinguals and be willing to lead a good part of their life in English (not all of it as many people are doing). They must cultivate interests which would be conducive to sustaining a mentality which is essentially French (only in some areas of service industries can French be sometimes used exclusively with the consumers). The French Canadian described above now becomes a strong pillar of the Manitoba contingent. He is able to spend his energies for greater cultural achievement, for a closer unity of mind with Quebec. Today many dedicated French Canadians in the West spend all their energy striving for sheer survival. Only through this type of self-styled elite will the total French Canadian contingent in the West survive.

3-15 The provincial government's main action can rest around i.e. making French available in abundant supply for all those wishing it. If government and citizens are to stay in mutual respect - the issue must not be mistaken for a religious issue. French is a Canadian language and must be recognized as such, French Canadians are Canadian citizens and they must act as such.

3-16 French Canadians in the West are not the same as in Quebec. The problems of B and B in the West are also different. It is not an economic problem here in the sense it is in Quebec; it is a personal and educational problem.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of The University of
Manitoba's Students' Union,

Walter Kleinschmit, chairman

Paul-Jo Léveillé

Ken Narvey

A P P E N D I X

Included are a series of briefs which were presented by University students and professors to the Hearing Committee. They represent many divergent opinions which are listed in alphabetical order.

ALLAIRE, Georges - St. Boniface College

Messieurs,

4-1-1 Je crois qu'afin de sauver le francais dans les minorites - particulièrement au Manitoba - et de lui permettre de s'épanouir au Québec, il nous faut opter pour l'INDEPENDANCE DU QUEBEC.

4-1-2 Je ne parle pas d'isolation du Québec, mais bien d'une prise en main complète de l'autorité politique québécoise par le Québec. Vu qu'il est impossible que l'économie québécoise se dissocie totalement de l'économie nord-américaine, et qu'une lutte économique entre le Canada et le Québec serait désastreuse pour les deux pays, une entente économique genre Marché-Commun devra nécessairement être établie une fois le Québec libre.

4-1-3 La situation du francais au Manitoba en ce moment est des plus critique, et tout observateur le moins réaliste ne peut que douter de la survie de notre minorité. Nos jeunes sont éduqués dans des écoles anglaises qu'on a le front de qualifier de bilingue parce qu'on y enseigne à peine une heure de français par jour. L'économie manitobaine est dans sa quasi-totalité en main anglaise. Nous sommes submergés par les mass média de langue anglaise. Et notre jeunesse est en très grande part anglicisée. La seule chance de survie que nous puissions imaginer est d'avoir des écoles francaises. Mais déjà certains doutent que les nôtres accepteraient ces mêmes écoles si on les leur offrait. Et la possibilité d'avoir ces écoles n'est, en ce moment, que théorique.

4-1-4 De même, il n'est pas surprenant que l'anglicisation soit si répandue chez les nôtres (au recensement fédéral de 1961, notre anglicisation était évaluée à 27.5%. Mais je ne crois pas que ce chiffre rende justice à la realite, car il doit exclure un bon nombre

ALLAIRE, Georges cont'd.....

de franglais qui sont à un doigt de l'anglicisation et un certain nombre d'enfants dont les parents s'illusionnent encore qu'ils sont français). En effet, comment peut-on s'attendre à ce que la masse de nos gens, qui n'ont aucun contact positif avec le français, soient prêts à se sacrifier indéfiniment pour la langue? Je conçois que les membres de notre élite, qui ont reçu les bénéfices qu'accorde un cours classique, et qui ont alors pu mieux apprendre à apprécier la valeur de notre langue, que ceux-ci soient enthousiasmés de la Cause - et même ceux-ci sont loins de tous l'être. Mais les gens de la rue n'ont aucune raison de conserver la langue française, encore moins de lutter et de se sacrifier pour elle, dans une Amérique du Nord dont 97.5% de la population est de langue anglaise, et dans un pays où l'élément francophone s'est résigné à demeurer à l'état d'éternelle minorité devant toujours engager une lutte à mort pour ses droits. Et si elle obtenait ses droits, cette minorité devrait toujours demeurer en éveil pour les conserver, ne pouvant être assurée que dans les siècles, peut-être les décennies, à venir, que l'élément majoritaire continuerait à respecter les droits de cette minorité. Il est naturel, et c'est ce qui se produit, que ceux qui n'ont aucun avenir finissent par se tourner vers ceux qui en ont.

4-1-5

Que peut pour nous un Québec dans la Confédération? Rien. Le passé nous l'a amplement prouvé. Toutes les luttes dans les minorités n'ont jamais reçu l'aide décisif du Québec car le Québec devait faire face à dix gouvernements, dont neuf égaux et un supérieur à lui. L'aide économique et culturel, un Québec libre pourrait tout aussi bien l'apporter. Mais de plus, un Québec libre n'aurait plus à faire face qu'à un gouvernement, celui d'Ottawa lequel serait son égal. Le Québec a une population anglophone

ALLAIRE, Georges cont'd...

suffisante pour forcer Ottawa à négotier le sort des minorités francophone de l'Ouest. Si la négoce échoue, notre position n'est pas pire qu'auparavant. Mais d'un autre côté, cette négoce a beaucoup plus de chance de réussir. Et ne croyons pas que le Québec confédératif assure la protection des minorités. La minorité franco-manitobaine, par exemple, se fait angliciser à une vitesse éffrayante, au nez et à la barbe d'un Québec confédératif, alors que la minorité anglaise du Québec se regorge de ses droits.

4-1-6 Un Québec libre apporterait surtout un élément majeur - élément d'importance égale a celui d'écoles françaises - afin d'assurer la survie du français au Manitoba et dans les minorités. Il s'agit de la concrétisation de notre existence nationale et de notre épanouissement international. Le peuple lutte peu pour des abstractions. Et quiconque parle du Canada, parle d'un pays anglais. Le français n'y est qu'idéal. Un pays de langue française en Amérique du Nord affirmerait hautement le fait français et aurait une chance d'éveiller les nôtres. Sans cela, l'abstraction française demeurera dans des discours nubuleux et émotifs... et nos minorités périront. Le fait français doit cesser d'être réalité folklorique pour devenir réalité politique-internationale. Cela, seul un Québec libre peut l'accomplir.

4-1-7 Rien n'empêche de nombreuses interrelations entre le Québec libre et le Canada. Mais il est essenteil a l'épanouissement et à la sécurité interne de notre nation que le Québec prenne son indépendance.

4-1-8 Le Canada n'est pas un tout substantiel mais une entente entre deux nations, entente qui soumet une des deux nations à la tutelle de l'autre. La Confédération a vu et verra toujours des luttes entre ces deux nations. Plutôt donc que de vivre en chicane dans la même maison, pourquoi les deux nations ne vivraient-elles pas envoisins amis, possédant chacune son chez-soi déterminé? Tant qu'on voudra partager à deux une autorité, il y aura du mécontentement.

4-1-9 Je ne mets pas en doute la bonne volonté des anglophones, mais pour tout élève vient le jour où il doit remercier son tuteur, et partir vivre sa propre vie. De plus, les anglophones - qui, par leur nombre, ont toujours le dernier mot adire dans nos affaires - étant

ALLAIRE, Georges cont'd...

extérieurs à nos problèmes, même avec la meilleure volonté et à la suite d'études prolongées, peuvent à peine intuitionner de nous ce que nous connaissons naturellement. Et l'étude n'est pas la vie. C'est à nous de vivre. Les anglophones feraient de très bons amis, mais de piètres tuteurs.

Merci.

(Georges ALLAIRE.)

The Minority's Objections to BilingualismA The Problems -

- 4-2-1 (1) Bias of the Terms of Reference. The terms of reference of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission appear to be biased with the end result prejudged. The reluctant recognition, that five million Canadians of other than French or British Ethnic Origin exist at all, appears to have been inserted as an after thought, and placed apart in a subordinate location. Any presentation of the view, point of Canadians of other than British or French origin is thus at a serious disadvantage. It must be presented from a negative and defensive position, contrary to our normally accepted concept of British justice.
- 4-2-2 (a) Founding Races - Like Rome, Canada was not built in one day, or even in one century. (For instance, the 30.4% of the Canadian population of the French today was started by some 10,000 French people.) The process of building this nation is still continuing. No division of Canadian citizens into founding and non-founding races can be justified in a democratic society based on equality of citizenship. Any such division would provide a legal basis for racial discrimination.
- 4-2-3 (b) Equal Partnership - The implication in the terms of reference is that full equality is to be extended only to two racial groups. This leaves the remaining five million Canadians in an unenviable position of being culturally disenfranchised.
- 4-2-4 (c) Majority and Minority - This implies that size becomes a "measuring slide" of priveleges of certain groups. Although the size of the ethnic groups is not as large as that of the English or French there is no reason why these "Canadian" citizens deserve any fewer rights.
- (2) The terms of reference of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission clearly state that the Commission is to deal with the "Existing State" of bilingualism and biculturalism.
- 4-2-5 (a) Let us briefly look at the Canada of the past.....

4-2-5 1759 With the fall of newFrance, the British became the ruling people and the French the subject people, since this is the usual definition of a colony.

1867 - Confederation of Canada -

Canada was still a colony - Confederation took in Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The 1867 population of Canada was almost entirely British and Fench.

Another important factor was that Western Canada was almost completely unsettled. As yet there was no Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia.

1931 Colonial status came to an end officially when the so-called dominion of the British Commonwealth were proclaimed by the Statute of Westminster to be fully equal and in no way subordinate to the mother country.

1947 - Canadian Citizen Act was passed recognizing only one class of citizenship for all Canadian regardless of size and duration of stay in Canada.

1961 - Bill of Rights further consolidated the rights of the Canadian people.

(b) Canada today - "the existing state of b. & b." with special emphasis on Manitoba.

i) Manitoba - 43 % of population is of British origin.

9 % of " " " French "

48 % is neither of British nor French origin; the Ukrainians are the largest percentage of this forming nearly 15%.

Order of Size - English, Ukrainian, Germans, French, Dutch, Polish Hebrew, Italian, etc. (last four not in order.) In the other Western

4-2-5 1) provinces the situation is something like this:

SASKATCHEWAN - 40.5% of British origina.

6.5% of French

53% of neither French nor British origin.

ALBERTA - 45% of British origin

6% of French "

49% of neither French nor British.

BRITISH COLUMBIA - 34.7% of the population is of neither French nor British origin.

41% of French origin.

Some 61% of the population is of English origin.

In the three prairie provinces the third element forms about 50% of the population.

From these statistics I think it is obvious that the Canadian population of 1964 is not made up of two races. In Canada as a whole the so called "third element" is nearly equal to the total population of the French origin. In Manitoba and Western Canada about half of the population is of neither British nor French origin. Those who think of Canada as bi-lingual and bi-cultural in 1964 are

(1) "thinking almost exclusively in terms of the part"

N.B. ... (2) thinking of Canada, not as she actually is but as they would like it to be to suit their personal preconceived ideas.

They are placing the emotions of British or French nationalism before Canadianism.

"It is interesting in this connection to point out that the special rights that were written into Section 133 of the B.N.A. were adopted in an age when Canada was a colony and when we had a ruling people and a subject people, the rights of which had to be protected. This section is now obsolete with the transition of Canada from a colony to an independent and democratic state.

Special status for any group or province is simply not consistent with equality for all.

If Quebec deserves a special position in confederation then so does Western Canada.

CHUBATY, Wallace - cont'd.

4-2-6 The Common Denominator

Whether we accept it or not the language of communication as well as the media of communication virtually over the entire North American continent is English. French parents in Quebec are finding their children specializing in English more and more among themselves. The same problem is encountered by the parents of new Canadian citizens (i.e. German, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Italian homes communicate in English.) Also, whether we accept it or not N'American culture is here to stay. This culture is composed of the various elements' cultures inhabiting this continent as well as a new culture that has been born over the years. In Canada a variety of regional and provincial cultures form what we today call our "Canadian culture." No one Canadian province today is bi-cultural. Quebec comes about as close to being uni-cultural because of heavy French population there. But, to call Canada bi-cultural today one must believe that the French Canadian in Quebec had more of an influence on the development of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta than the Ukrainian, German or Polish immigrant. This in my opinion is very fallacious thinking.

Conclusion - I think what we are saying is -

one province Quebec - French culture and language

nine provinces - English language

.. Canada is bi-cultural this is wrong

4-2-7 The Canadian Politician

a) Federal the problems existing in Canada today are not of bilingualism or biculturalism but as follows

i) Provincial rights in Quebec. (i.e. The provincial government and people of Quebec want more political and especially economic autonomy than they presently have.)

This Committee can rest assured that the recent bombings in Quebec and arguments for Separatism were to bring this problem to the attention of the Federal Government and not to press for French rights in Western Canada.

The present Liberal Government, apparently incapable of dealing with this real problem is dodging the real issue in an effort to assure themselves

4-2-7 The Canadian Politician - cont'd.

a) Federal

re-election in the next election. This short-term planning can accomplish nothing for the Canadian nation except create more problems in the near future.

b) Provincial-Manitoba

The Conservative Government of Manitoba apparently is doing no better in dealing with the demands and problems of the French Catholic element in Manitoba than the Federal Government is doing in dealing with the demands and problems of Quebec. For many years the French element in Manitoba has asked for Provincial aid for their parochial schools such as is today given in Ontario, Saskatchewan and Québec (and other provinces.) Today in Manitoba some twenty children have not been attending school for over three months because they do not have the same rights and privileges as other children.

The Manitoba Government hasnot solved thisproblem and is doing nothing to solve this problem. Instead Premier Roblin has promised the French Catholics a substitute "treat" - the teaching of French from grade one in our provincial schools. Just like the "B. & B. Commission" this does not solve the problem. It is merely a political gimmick to receive French support in the next provincial election.

Therefore I feel that until such time that our political leaders start facing the real problems, no matter how difficult they seem to be, these problems will remain unsolved. They will merely be temporarily set aside.

4-2-8 The Solutions - Recommendations:

1) The third element's viewpoint does not imply that the rights and privileges of French Canadians should in any way be reduced. (Such opinion seems to exist.) This is only another evidence of the fallacious thinking that we must discard if we are to reach any worthwhile solutions to the existing problems of today. On the contrary, the very reasonable contention is only that the rights and privileges of all Canadians is raised to the same level regardless of the segment to which they belong.

2) It is my view that the mother tongue of a given people cannot be separated from the ancestral cultural heritage of that people, and is included in it. The two words bilingualism and biculturalism should therefore be considered together. Any reputable dictionary, reference book or linguistic authority wuld define bilingualism to mean speaking two languages. (

4-2-8 The Solutions - Recommendations

2)

Over 50% of the population are bilingual, speaking English and their mother tongue. Recognizing the diverse character of the population of this province the B. and B. Commission should encourage the teaching within the school system of the mother languages of the various people where there is demand for such instruction. Such recognition must be on a democratic basis of full equality with a special status for none and discrimination against none.

3) It is further suggested that the "B. & B. Commission" should urge the Government of Canada to recognize more adequately the diverse composition of the Canadian peoples, their languages and cultures.

a) by remaining discriminatory legislation and policies against all languages, and cultures of the Canadian people (such as in the Canadian Broadcasting Act for example)

b) by establishing in Winnipeg a center for programs on radio and television designed to serve and promote the needs of the cosmopolitan population of Manitoba and Western Canada.

c) by recognizing through the Canada Council and similar organizations the existence of Ukrainian, French, Hebrew, German etc. literature, music, theatre etc. in Canada.

4) It is strongly urged that any legislation, recommendations, or policies, which would state or imply a division of Canadian Citizens into categories (such as founding and non-founding, official and unofficial majority and minority etc.) based on racial origin, religion, cultural and language background, or the time of arrival of their forebears in Canada be avoided.

Such legislation, recommendations and policies provide a dangerous legal basis for discrimination against certain segments of the Canadian people. There is only one logical basis for a country like Canada built by a process of settlement by peoples from many lands and that basis is the democratic recognition of the full equality of all Canadian citizens. Anything less is unworthy of Manitoba as a Province and unworthy of Canada as a nation.

5) Finally, all Canadians connected in any way with this commission (From Mr. Dunton and Mr. Laurendeau to any citizen expressing his views on this subject)

CHUBATY, Wallace

4-2-8 The Solution & Recommendations cont'd.

5) place the interest and future of Canada as a nation before their emotions of British, French, German, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Polish, Italian, Dutch, etc. nationalism. Only then, in a spirit of mutual trust and respect, without any feelings of superiority or inferiority, will we be able to make Canada the "great nation" that I believe she was destined to be.

SOME COMMENTS MADE TO C.U.S SEMINAR ON BICULTURALISM:

4-3-1 The need for positive statements on bilingualism and biculturalism;

"...there is more unity than we sometimes imagine. The two principal languages of Canada are European. Most of the peoples are of European extraction. Most of them are of some Christian persuasion. For the most part, the Canadian population may be said to have inherited what has been common in the historical development of Europeans. And, as a political unit Canada now faces the challenges imposed by geography and the economic pattern of North America..."

"...Canada remained British because it was French....later the French were able to remain French because they were British and not American...the two founding groups in Canada are products of each other, bound together now by what most Canadians hope are the indissoluble ties of history...."

4-3-2 The need to avoid making statements about a common Canadianism which really means French assimilation into the English majority:
"It seems to me that it is essential to establish that biculturalism cannot mean cultural fusion of the two main streams in order to produce immediately a single Canadianism. All we can hope to achieve at the moment is much better cultural circulation. The English and French blocs stand to each other in the relationship of majority and minority groups. This is probably one of the greatest single factors to consider... There will be dualism so long as the minority group does not detach itself completely from the majority group. There is no reasonable possibility at the moment that the majority English-speaking bloc will absorb or assimilate the French bloc..."

"...What is most startling to me about the theory of multiculturalism is that its propagators are also advocating un-hyphenated Canadianism. Surely, the whole concept of the ethnic mosaic, as opposed to the melting-pot, is that we shall remain hyphenated

Canadians - Ukrainian-Canadians, Belgian-Canadians, etc..."

"... as a matter of historical relevance, it is noteworthy that the population of New France, a full century before the British conquest, was already speaking of itself as Canadian....the first definition of Canadian nationality was offered in 1627...the colonists differentiated between French and Canadians....the acts of Capitulation in 1759 and 1760 designated three nationalities - French, Canadian and Acadian...The Canadians of French expression have never accepted or employed a hyphenated designation for themselves. They have been Canadian since early in the French regime..."

4-3-3 The need to differentiate between the legitimate aspirations and rights of small ethnic groups and the concept of a multicultural nation:

"...decennial census statistics are employed to demonstrate that the French proportion of the total population remains rather stable, the English-origin group is declining as a percentage of the whole, and the small ethnic groups are gaining...mathematical tables are used to show that this "third force" is the up and coming Canadianism. The implication in the popular mind is sometimes that here are the only really evolved and true Canadians!..
..The third force can be conjured up on the statistical summary sheet, but where is it in Canadian life? It just does not exist. It is part of the English-Canadian mosaic - a peculiar Canadian pattern in constant evolution. The Canadian mosaic contains these ethnic islands - they contribute to a new Canadianism evolving within the English-oriented pattern. The peoples of British origin in Western Canada find themselves caught up in this pattern too....

it is unrealistic to believe it is the pattern of all Canada - of the Maritimes, Newfoundland or even Ontario...."

4-3-3

"...when the small ethnic groups speak of their culture and their cultural contributions they are really speaking about artistic and aesthetic contributions made to the pattern of life here in Western Canada. In other words, they are speaking of refinements of the English-Canadian culture. These we appreciate and certainly ought to preserve and further encourage. The ethnic minorities of Manitoba are not in the same category at all. Their first language (in many cases), their way of life, their institutions and their way of thinking are basically what the French-speaking Canadians denominate with reason as "anglais". The social fact of our times is that the so-called third force is part of the English mosaic whereas the French-speaking group (particularly Quebec) stands outside it and apart from it...But when the French speak of their culture in Canada, they use the word "culture" in the sociological sense of their way of thinking, their school system and other particular institutions, and even their own code of civil laws."

"...I view multiculturalism as a possible danger because it may lead some people to believe that the French are but another piece in the great mosaic...this is perhaps inevitable when we make biculturalism an issue that is tried by the public and the press, especially in a province where the French-speaking Canadians are so small a minority..."

4-3-4

The need to take some definite steps to avert the dangers inherent in a "multiculturalist" view of our nation:

"...the cold hard facts are that when the French and Ukrainians in Manitoba, for example, raise the cry of language rights they are not talking about the same thing at all. The French are thinking in terms of French as a vehicle of all teaching -

4-3-4

. - sciences, literature, mathematics. It seems senseless to make efforts in Winnipeg to teach French to young English-speaking while denying opportunities to French-speaking in St. Boniface to retain their mother tongue... But the Ukrainians are thinking only in terms of cultural enrichment, in terms of teaching a second language to their children and grandchildren..."

"...the undue emphasis on ethnic origin ought to be eradicated from statistical returns. What may be relevant to some students and the government are the country and place of birth. But what is of real importance in dealing with the question of biculturalism and bilingualism is surely mother tongue languages spoken. It is more important, I should think, to establish what inhabitants and where speak what languages as their first and second languages than in being able to establish what numbers of people claim a certain ethnic origin - this probably many generations back and through the male line which in any case, disregards the female line which has greater cultural influence..."

4-3-5

The need for English-speaking Canadians in Manitoba to learn some basic facts about the French-speaking Canadians and their interpretation of our common history:

"...Quebec attitudes cannot be understood unless it is first recognized that history afforded them a different choice from that presented to their English partners. The British element in early Canada chose to be free from the United States. That choice is made over again by every generation of Canadians. But the French element was reduced after 1763 to choosing between two English-speaking groups. They chose to unite their destiny with the

4-3-5

British rather than the proximate Americans. From the point of view of their cultural survival they chose wisely... in a sense this was the choice they made again in 1867....and today if we show some wisdom we can influence them to make the same choice and keep our nation united..."

"...survival was the question in Quebec at first. But with the achievement of this objective has come a more encompassing demand. They now want more than mere survival; they want to be masters of their own destiny. They want the right of self-development and self-expression, to share fully in Canada's future. They are not satisfied to be merely witnesses to it..."

"...Professor Morton has spoken about "a unity under the Crown admitting a thousand diversities". This is the same happy toleration which is at the crux of the concept of the Commonwealth of Nations. However, it does not prove that this is the rationale governing English predominance in Canada. Nor if that is proved, does it follow that it is an acceptable formula to the French-speaking Canadians. Throughout the generations the French have witnessed many attempts to coerce them into an "Anglo-Saxon pattern"...So great an authority on French Canada as Mason Wade has failed to see the French Canadian role as that of a minority group. To understand the psychology of the minority group is to realize that much of French Canadian behaviour since the Conquest has been perfectly normal and perhaps ought to have been predictable..."

"...It is curious how Wade, Creighton and Lower have missed so basic an observation in Canadian life. If the English-speaking historians do not understand a fundamental fact in our national history how can we expect the population at large to grasp it? Canadians are a minority in North America. That explains much

PROFESSOR C. JAENEN Cont'd..

4-3-5

of our outlook. French-speaking Canadians are a minority in their own country. That explains much of their outlook. There is also an English-speaking minority in Quebec, whose rights are constitutionally well protected. But concentric circles of minorities do not produce a common nationalism..."

"...the cleavage in points of view runs even to the interpretation of Confederation itself. The English usually see in the B.N.A. Act a solution to the problems of four British colonies. The French more often have tended to see it as a solemn compact between two great races and cultures with guarantees for the minority party. Outside of the province of Quebec the English view has been made to predominate when questions of language or religion have arisen in education, for example. This was abundantly clear in the New Brunswick and Manitoba schools questions..."

"...English Canadians are proud that we have had two French-speaking Prime Ministers...many French-speaking Canadians, especially from Quebec constituencies, view any Quebecois who accepts public office in Ottawa as a vendu, one who has sold out to the majority group, for in Ottawa the national (i.e. English) view must triumph in a crisis. This may seem incomprehensible to the politician who comes from Prince Edward Island or Alberta. But to the student of minority groups it makes abundant sense. This is quite normal behaviour for a minority group. This is what Wade, and all who quote him, fail to understand..."

4-3-6

SUGGESTIONS: THAT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED RE. DISCUSSIONS IN MANITOBA
OF BICULTURALISM AND BILINGUALISM:

A change in the census forms might do a great deal to clear up popular misconceptions about multiculturalism and an emerging nationalism. Questions regarding "ethnic origin" might be dropped - "ethnic origin" often has little meaning (e.g. a Canadian whose ancestors five generations ago left Germany for the United States and whose grandfather immigrated to Canada from the USA is still classified as "German"). The really relevant questions are: a) country and place of birth; b) mother tongue and other languages spoken.

Some steps may have to be taken to meet French fears in Manitoba - fears which are only augmented as Quebec demands more provincial autonomy and presses forward with the "state" concept. These steps might include: a) guarantee of French as a teaching language in public schools desiring it; b) some additional aid to St. Boniface College within the University family.

Some steps may have to be taken also to meet the fears of other ethnic communities in Manitoba. They fear that the English and French are planning to preside over their liquidation. Their uncertainty might be met by: a) some reaffirmation of official interest in the preservation of the many cultures that contribute to the Canadian way of life; b) greater recognition of the place of language options in the school system.

4-4-1

The prime objective of all deliberations on this problem should be to maintain a strongly unified and democratic Canada within the realm of confederation. Therefore, any consideration of the local or provincial significance of this problem should not be so narrow in its view point as to be detrimental to the country as a whole. I maintain that this prime objective can be attained only if the problems are resolved on the basis of established and accepted principles which give equal consideration and respect to all citizens of Canada irrespective of their geographic location, their faith, their colour, their ethnic origin or when they became citizens. I therefore, intend to set out these basic principles within which the problem can be resolved and the prime objective attained.

4-4-2

Firstly, there are no federal or provincial statutes, that I have been able to discover, which govern the culture of Canadian citizens in Manitoba or anywhere in Canada. It is obvious that culture cannot be regulated or imposed upon individuals by legislation no more than it can change the characteristics of people. Webster defines culture as "a particular stage of advancement in civilization or the characteristic features of such a stage or state." Culture varies from person to person, from one ethnic group to another and from region to region within a city, within a province and between regions of Canada. The various cultures which we now find in Canada were introduced as component characteristics of each of the various ethnic groups who came to this country from various lands. One need only drive through the city of Winnipeg, and the same is true for many cities of Canada, to see the different churches, synagogues, community halls, libraries, cultural centers, to realize the multi-cultural nature of our nation. The various cultures have been interwoven into a rich mosaic which has distinguished Canada as being unique in this respect among the countries of the world. Our present culture is like a master painting which owes its beauty to the fact that the artist has harmonized the various colours, each in its proper place, to form a mosaic which portrays a distinctive

4-4-2

scene of international harmony. Had the artist used only one or two colours, or had he mixed all the colours in a "melting pot," only the strong colours would predominate and "not necessarily those which are beautiful, and the artist could not possibly portray the same beautiful scene or idea.

4-4-3

No legislation can eliminate the influence of German or Russian music, Italian or Spanish art, Greek philosophy, the literature of Goethe, Burns, or Shevchenko, the folk songs, dances, customs of the ethnic groups, other than English and French, which were brought to Canada or reach us even now via various means of communication. Any attempt to regulate the different cultural elements would in fact be an attempt to regulate the thoughts, the expressions and the way of life of individuals. This would take us right out of a democracy and into a dictatorship of an extreme type. It should be known that the so-called "minority element" number five million citizens in Canada. One ethnic group alone, the Ukrainians, constitute twelve percent of the population in Manitoba. During the last war they had over forty thousand enlisted in the defence of this country. Similar facts can be given about other ethnic groups. These few statements should give some indication of the "existing state in Canada" which cannot possibly be interpreted in the terms of reference of the Royal Commission as limiting all considerations only to the English and French. The founding and the development of Canada is a continuous process, contributed to by all citizens in the past, a process which must continue for many years to come for the good of this country. I wish to add here that language and culture are not synonymous. Language is only one of the elements of culture.

4-4-4

With regard to the language problem there are no provincial statutes in Manitoba which require bilingualism as a medium of communication in the legislature, in other than federal courts, or in the schools. Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, which provides for English and French bilingualism in the Federal Houses of Parliament, in the Federal Courts and in the province of Quebec, does

4-4-4

not extend to all channels across Canada. This was very aptly pointed out by President Saunderson who was quoted by the Free Press (Nov. 30, 1963) as having stated, "There is no justification in the British North America Act for the French claims for two official languages right across the country." I would like to add that at the time of confederation, Canada was a British Colony and, as such, did not provide for equal status of the two races.

4-4-5

With regard to language as a subject taught in Manitoba schools, there is obvious discrimination. Some languages are placed in a higher category than others. Some, as for instance Ukrainian, can be taken now in high school, only as an elective in addition to, and not instead of, another required language. Furthermore, only certain languages are acceptable for University matriculation requirements. Again in University some languages are given a higher status than others. Undoubtedly, this form of discrimination is not in accordance with the basic purpose of a university nor with the principle of equality of opportunities granted to us by the Citizenship Act and by the Bill of Rights.

4-4-6

To some ethnic groups, Ukrainians for instance, their own language is a medium of worship, and discrimination against a language is interference with freedom of worship as all services, religious books of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, are in Ukrainian. Furthermore, the Ukrainians which constitute 12% of the population in Manitoba, like all other people presumably pay their share of the taxes for education, including the propagation of languages and cultures other than their own. If in addition to this responsibility they are burdened with the responsibility of maintaining their own schools, this would not be consistent with equality of opportunities nor with equality of responsibilities.

4-4-7

From the academic point of view the function of a university is the "conservation and expansion of knowledge (Neilson*). A university is to provide the opportunity for

4-4-7

students to acquire knowledge in whatever field or subject there is demand for it. A university is defined (Neilson*) as "the school of universal learning." The university does not set up only those courses which have immediate application or economic value for this would degrade the university to a technical school and defeat its true function. When a student undertakes a study of a field or subject or a research project, whether it be in archeology of ancient Egypt or the ethology of the Culex, his prime object is "the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake." Similarly, a study of a language whether it be Greek, French, Hebrew or Ukrainian it is "the pursuit of knowledge". The language is a key to a different world of information, to another culture and to another philosophy of life. The opportunity for such study, when there is demand for it, should be provided and with full credit. This is consistent with equality of responsibility and equality of opportunity. Of course, for a language to be useful in university it must be studied in the secondary schools. The educational system of Saskatchewan, including its university, gives freedom of choice and equality of credit for all languages.

-4-4-8

I wish to draw your attention to a significant event in the United States. In 1962, a nation-wide study entitled "Language Resource Project" directed by Dr. Joshua Fishman was undertaken by the United States Office of Education. Its purpose is to determine to what extent the mother tongues and cultures of the various ethnic groups are being preserved, and what assistance the Government can give to encourage and promote the learning of non-English languages. Dr. Fishman states that this is the first time that this "lost continent" of non-English languages has been recognized as truly important and essential.

*Neilson, William Allan, The Function of the University, a Norman Wait Harris Foundation lecture. Northwestern University, April 8, 1943.

DR. P. A. KONDRA Cont'd..

4-4-8 Cont'd..

He adds that America is in need of citizens with knowledge of different languages in order to establish and improve diplomatic, cultural and commercial ties with people in every part of the globe.

4-4-9

I wish to express a word of criticism of the Canadian University Students' subcommittee on Bilingualism and biculturalism on this subject. University students usually claim to have an open mind and broad views, they appear to fight for freedom of thought and of expression, for equality of privileges and oppose all forms of discrimination. I am with them in these noble objectives. However, their stand on bilingualism and biculturalism completely ignores the fact that about one-third of the students in Canadian universities are neither of English nor of French origin. I also wish to refer to the Student Christian Movement Committee which presented a brief to the Manitoba Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on December 16th, 1963. Their views were extremely narrow, discriminatory and contrary to the objectives of their organization. To associate such views with a Christian organization would do grave injustice to the highly respected past role of this organization.

4-4-10

The people of Manitoba, like those of the rest of Canada, are predominantly of the Christian faith, but it is comprised of a great many different churches, particularly in Winnipeg. This is a living example of the freedom of worship which we hold so dear. There is no finer way known to achieve national unity and harmony as well as tolerance and respect for each other than by basing our actions on Christian principles in all our deliberations, in our daily tasks and in all walks of life. Within these great principles which have given deeper meaning to human life can any one have the moral right to determine the destiny of any individual, any ethnic group, any culture or any religious faith?

Now I would like to present to you quotations of three great authorities on this problem.

4-4-11

Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, President of Acadia University, formerly on the staff of The University of Manitoba, sounded the correct note over 25 years ago when he said "The finest stimulus to

4-4-11

great achievements in the future is a consciousness of great achievements in the past. And if all citizens, of whatever racial extractions, felt that the cultural glories of their past were known and appreciated by the community, it would be a spur to further high accomplishment. Mutual knowledge, mutual sympathy, and mutual emulation in cultural attainments would surely shape a national life of astonishing richness".

4-4-12

The brief on Biculturalism and Bilingualism presented by the Manitoba Conference and the Winnipeg Presbytry of the United Church of Canada to the Manitoba Commission on December 16th, 1963, contained the following "Both those of French and English descent should be constantly mindful of the fact that since the signing of Confederation a great host of people from many races and from all parts of the world have come to share in this nation. They are part of our common life and now constitute approximately one-third of our total population. These citizens, many of whom were not only urged to come to Canada but encouraged to remain and preserve the best in their own culture, find it difficult to understand why their lives must be moulded to either a French or English culture. They are loyal citizens of a nation which has all the aspects of a pluralistic or multi-cultural pattern and they rightly resent any concerted effort to force them into a rigidly bicultural mould. It is obvious that those Canadians who are of either French or British descent must, in order to be loyal to their common cultural tradition, not only respect each other and the rights of each, but be as concerned to respect the positions and rights of those other Canadians who will never really belong to either, and who will, in time, blend into that which is neither French nor English. The United Church of Canada exercises an extensive ministry to a substantial number of these people in both Manitoba and across the nation, and, as a Church, we are acutely aware of the necessity of these citizens having the continued assurance that they belong to Canada and that, as a nation and a people, welcome and encourage the distinctive contributions they can make to this country".

4-4-13

The concluding statement of this brief is as follows:

"In essence, it is our belief that the survival of cultural influence in a free society must, in the last analysis, depend upon the inherent truths enshrined in the culture itself and the power of such to influence and shape the minds and spirits of men. We are apprehensive of any legislative enactment that would tend to constrict or restrain individuals within prescribed standards of speech or behaviour."

4-4-14

Finally, General Vanier, Governor General of Canada, in his New Year's message (1964) to Canadians stated "The future of Canada is intimately allied to this fabulous double heritage. I hope that Canadians of Anglo-Saxon and French descent, whose two cultures are a source of mutual enrichment, will be an example of fraternal co-existence, and that they will advance hand in hand to make of Canada a great nation, hand in hand also with Canadians of all origins, without distinction of race or creed, with their language and their culture."

4-4-15

In conclusion, I wish to make the following recommendations: All decisions on language and culture should aim to maintain all of Canada as one unified democratic nation with equality of opportunities and responsibilities for all its citizens irrespective of religion, colour, ethnic origin or when they came to Canada.

Exc epting as provided for in section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, the official language and medium of communication should be the English language by all Canadians. Beyond the above provisions it would neither be practical nor beneficial to extend and make mandatory the use of the French language by all Canadians, but its study should be encouraged.

There should be complete freedom to study any language for which there is sufficient demand with equal credit in high school as well as in university, to use any language as a medium of worship and for propagating knowledge and culture including its use in radio and T. V. programs.

There should be complete cultural freedom with encouragement and due assistance for propagating the good elements of culture

DR. P. A. KONDRA Cont'd..

L-4-15

irrespective of their origin.

There is no finer way to achieve national unity, tolerance and respect for each other than by basing all our decisions, all our actions on Christian principles and let each individual or group determine its own destiny.

4-5-1

As the greater part of our effort is going into the preparation of our own report to the Royal Commission, you may notice perhaps a small number of speakers this afternoon.

I would like to present, however, a few of my own personal opinions on this vital subject, hoping that it will clarify somewhat a few of the basic issues involved.

Up until now, the problem of biculturalism has been viewed as a continuous struggle between two groups, the English-speaking segment of Canada, and the French-Canadian element. The time has arrived, I believe, to situate the problem on a superior level, that is, on the level of the Canadian identity as such. The basic problem, as I see it, is this one: What is a Canadian? We all know what a French-Canadian is: a French-Canadian is for very definite values, a way of life. The only definition we have of an English-Canadian, however, is a purely negative one: we know that he is not British, he is not an American, and he is not a French-Canadian. Perhaps it is time he found out what he is, positively, what distinguishes him, say, from an Italian or a German. Until he does this, he will continue to be exactly what he is at the moment: that is, a second-rate American.

This is where the French-Canadian culture comes in: if, in a few years, a healthy proportion of English-speaking had a working knowledge of the French language, and thus became actively interested in the French-Canadian culture as such, he would find perhaps that here is a value that distinguishes him, and ultimately, his country, from any other in the world. He would find that here is something unique in the world, something worth conserving.

Then, and only then, could I become proud of Canada as a country. As of now, I can honestly be proud only of Quebec. Here, truly, is a nation on the move: there is life there, something which seems to be singularly lacking here in Winnipeg, for example.

4-5-2

This is, basically, what the nationalistic impulse in Quebec amounts to: an intense pride in our own "country", and what it stands for: something absolutely unique in North America, and, truly, in the world. And the attitude of the typical French-Canadian today is: "By God, we're going to hang onto it."

Nationalism is an emotion, a sort of a collective emotion which grips a large group of people: and it must be dealt with as an emotion. One cannot reason away an emotion; sooner or later it must find an outlet. As I see it, this wave of nationalism must either spread to the rest of Canada, and make every Canadian profoundly proud of his country; or it must find another outlet, which will ultimately be separatism...

4-5-3

The only true reform, if we must speak of reform, which would truly change anything for the better as far as the French-Canadian minorities are concerned, is in the field of education. If French-Canadians across Canada do not obtain their own schools, where the language of instruction is French, then they have not obtained anything. All the rest is superficial. Because education is the only means ultimately by which our culture will be allowed to survive: and that is all that French-Canadians anywhere are interested in.

Until that time comes, however, my decision to go to Quebec this year, possibly to spend the rest of my life there, will remain. And this is the attitude of at least half of the members of the graduating class of St. Boniface College this year.

A development of the historical background of our Province to show what happened to the different ethnic groups, with a special emphasis on the continuous downward trend of the French Group.

4-6-1

The real start of Manitoba's ethnic history may be said to be the emergence of the Metis group. It is estimated that between 1800 - 1811 there were four to five thousand of these children of the fur trade. These people had a national consciousness which may be likened to a faith. The half breeds formed a large majority of the Red River Colony. The Federal census of 1871 shows: total population: 11,400 - white pop: 1,600 French Metis - 5,720 English Metis - 4,080.

This Metis population soon became amalgamated into one race who spoke only French. These settled with the Scottish settlers of the Red River Colony. The development of the colony by these two groups is significant to the history of Manitoba. No longer was Manitoba's destiny determined by hunters but by farmers.

The first racial crisis occurred in Manitoba in 1869. This was the Riel Rebellion. However, this Rebellion proved to be of great significance to Manitoba's population expansion. Many of the Ontario militia men sent to quell the rebellion stayed and settled on farms. Also attention was drawn to Manitoba as a potential area in which to settle. An immediate racial problem did not arise however, as the French section received reinforcement from Massachusetts and Quebec in 1875. There existed at this time an ideal balance of numbers among the Protestant and Roman Catholic French Communities. This balance was realized in the Manitoba Act of 1870 which provided for Protestant and Roman Catholic French Communities. This balance was realized in the Manitoba Act of 1870 which provided for Protestant and Roman Catholic schools and the use of French and English in the legislation of the Province.

4-6-2

However this balance was soon to be upset by various circumstances in Europe which caused large groups to immigrate to Manitoba.

Of paramount importance among these groups were the Mennonites. Between 1874-1879, their number was 7,383. According to the latest Manitoba census of 1961 the persons of German ethnic group origin

4-6-2

is 91,846. This is greater than the French group. Mennonites are an example of an ethnic group who have maintained their distinctive culture by determination. They have set up their own schools and radio stations.

4-6-3

Around the same time the Icelandic people arrived in Manitoba. These people settled around Gimli and Hekle Island which are geographical locations suitable to their mode of life. In the '61 census the Icelanders combined with the other Scandinavian groups (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish) numbered ^{approximately} 37,700. Today the Icelandic people are an important part of Manitoba's cultural heritage. There is a school of Icelandic students at the University under Professor Bessasson. Two Icelandic newspapers are published in Winnipeg "LOGBLRG HEMSKRINGIA" and the "Icelandic Canadian".

4-6-4

The Jewish population of Manitoba now numbers 18,898. J

... 5. They came in stages in the years 1870, 1882, 1892, 1903 and 1906. It was thought at first that these people would be aptly suited to agriculture. However problems of marriage partners and religion arose and gradually they drifted back to the city of Winnipeg where today they are engaged in commerce, industry and the professions.

The Jewish population have made a lasting contribution to Manitoba's growth. In order to maintain their religion and culture they have grouped together mainly in North Winnipeg and River Heights. They have forged ahead in the field of Jewish education. Their facilities, considering our size, are superior to most. There are both day primary and secondary schools. Classes after regular school time are conducted. Professor Bellan of the U of M is leader of a movement towards a Jewish College on the campus. I quote Rabbi Arthur Chul in saying: "Without a doubt it can be said that the Jewish schools in Winnipeg have created a uniquely positive Jewish community in decades past and will do so in the foreseeable future".

4-6-5

The other ethnic group of importance in Manitoba's history is the Ukrainian. This group is to be studied under another heading so I will at this time mention a few pertinent facts.

4-6 -6

The bi-lingual character of Manitoba had depended in early times on the continuous equality of numbers or, failing that, the goodwill of the majority group. Both situations were unlikely. Eventually as a result of the pre-mentioned mass immigration the French became the minority group.

In 1890 the Provincial legislature abolished the official language and dual system of separate denominational schools. This caused great concern among the French Canadian people. It was finally settled in the Laurier - Luenway Agreement of 1896. There are 3 pertinent points in this agreement.

1. religion was permitted to be taught $\frac{1}{2}$ hour a day.
2. where there were 10 or more students elementary teaching might be in French.
3. Catholic schools were allowed to continue but only as private organizations.

The final blow to the school's quest came in 1916 when the bilingual schools were done away with entirely. This was due supposedly to promote Canadian unity.

But the French people had yet another aid - the Roman Catholic Church. The parish became the custodian of the traditional language. It serves this function today.

Another aid is to be found in the Association d'Education des Canadiens Francais du Manitoba formed in 1916. This organization's principal object is to preserve the French culture and insure the survival of the French language in primary schools.

Ligue des Instructrices de Langue Francais, a purely cultural group also enjoys an active membership in Manitoba.

And so it seems that education is the French's main theme of resistance to assimilation. St. Boniface College of the U of M is unique in that it makes our University a bi-lingual University. Most Manitobans are not conscious of the fact that here a University student has the opportunity of taking an Arts degree in either French or English. As well as the bilingual aspect, St. Boniface College introduces a bicultural cry.

After being educated at St. Boniface a student emerges totally French in heart. There is a great deal of difference between a

MORGAN, Philippa D. Cont'd..

4-6-6

French Canadian heart and an Anglo-Canadian heart. It is true this heart may be acquired in the home atmosphere but the presence of St. Boniface College makes it a stronger possibility.

A man has either one of the above-mentioned hearts. He may speak both languages and appreciate the other group's cultural attributes but not really participate by understanding. This is all that can be expected or desired. It is for an appreciation and tolerance which we strive.

The French Canadians of Manitoba have clearly demonstrated their will to retain their distinct culture. This is a group distinct from Quebec, totally surrounded by the English-speaking population of the many European countries trying to hold their own. Little reinforcement of numbers other than that of natural increase is given. The question is: will they be able to maintain their identity; by what means; and is it justifiable that they do so.

4-6-7

I am approaching bilingualism from an historic vantage point. It is not a matter of numbers but rather one of historical importance. It was the French under La Verendrey, the Father of the West, who gave us the Canadian west as we know it. No one can question their importance in our early history. There is no other minority group in Manitoba or Canada who have contributed as much to the country as a whole as the French-Canadians. It is upon this that I base my argument for a bi-lingual Canada.

We are not, of nature a melting pot country. Rather we are that termed "mosaic". Each piece falls into pattern. Certain among these dominate the design scheme. These are the French and English.

The French people of Manitoba are not "just another ethnic group". The realization of this fact must be impressed upon the Canadian people if they are to accept bi-lingualism.

In conclusion I would say that a person of Anglo-saxon stock should learn a second language and in the light of bi-lingualism, this second language should be French.

REPORT FROM THE STUDENTS IN THE BICULTURAL SEMINAR ORGANIZED BY THE
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Preamble

4-7-1

= Canada has reached a crisis in its development. The nation as a whole has suddenly been forced to recognize the extreme lack of communication between its English-speaking and French-speaking people. Thus, at a time in which the popular movement is toward unity for strength and understanding, our country is divided internally by this lack of communication between its peoples.

This problem has historical roots. At the time of the British North America Act, the French-speaking population of Canada was restricted almost exclusively to rural Quebec as an agrarian people. The guarantee was made that an individual citizen who spoke only French could live in Canada as a full citizen. Specifically, the use of the French language was guaranteed publically in Quebec (where the greatest number of French-speaking people lived) in the federal government and in the courts. It was also supposed that the development of Western Canada would follow a pattern of dualism using the cultures of both the French and English as the base cultures for the new communities. (It is significant that when Manitoba became a province, the Manitoba Act which guaranteed the use of the French language, was incorporated into the constitution.) For a generation this plan worked out and there was good-will on the part of both the French and English. However, heavy immigration from Europe, the settling of the West and the development of commerce and industry combined to upset the peaceful working out of this dualistic pattern. Certain developments aggravated the situation. In the Western frontier districts the English soon out-numbered the French; most of the European immigrants integrated their sub-cultures into the English base culture rather than that of the French; and for various reasons, the English dominated the commercial and early industrial enterprises. It was apparent by the end of the last century that a new pattern of Canadian development (which the French reluctantly and with some resistance accepted) was emerging. In this new pattern English dominated and guarantees for French language and culture were to be honoured only in Quebec. Even in that province, key positions in industry and commerce were held by the English. Most English people

S.C.M. Cont'd..

4-7-1

assumed that French eventually would be assimilated. This pattern dominated the first half of this century but is being challenged by French-Canadians now that industrialization in Quebec is producing sufficient wealth to enable them to become 'masters in their own home' and demand a new deal to give them equal rights and an equal share in the development of Canada. Many French-speaking people have become respected members of the urban community through education and training and are desirous that more positions of leadership be filled by French-speaking people. The mobility afforded by modern communication has enabled the French to move around in non-French areas where they are confronted with an English dominated society, making the French feel that they are second class citizens. This they are objecting to.

We feel that the French-Canadians are justified in objecting to the pattern of Canadian development that has characterized the first half of this century. The social pattern of Canada must be changed. French-Canadians want the equal rights their forefathers had anticipated in Confederation. They will not be assimilated and have already made a distinctive contribution to Canada in education, theatre, literature, journalism, T.V., and music in the French communities of the country. It is our opinion that the British North America Act must be reviewed to guarantee the French-speaking people by constitution the ability to function as Canadian citizens with the free use of their own language. Further, we hold that it is necessary to work out with one another a new pattern of dualism to build a healthy Canada for the future.

4-7-2 Dualism: The New Pattern of Development for Canada

"Bicultural" is an unfortunate choice of terminology in that the word carries with it two misleading connotations. On the one hand there is a concept of biculturalism in which the people in the two base cultures in Canada develop their own cultural existence with no awareness of or interest in the other base culture. In fact this practice would result in two concepts of Canadianism - one French, the other English. This kind of thinking can easily lead to "separatism". On the other hand there is another concept of biculturalism which suggests the ability of the individual citizen to embrace fully both base

S.C.M. Cont'd..

4-7-2 cultures thus resulting in a "Canadian culture". This latter is both impossible and undesirable. Perhaps a better term is "dualism".

"Dualism" is a concept of racial structure in which there are two base cultures to form one country. These base cultures would enable both English and French, under ordinary circumstances, to live, work and travel in Canada using their own language be it French or English. However, it would be to the advantage of the French to learn English and of the English to learn French if they want to develop a deeper understanding of Canadians of both base cultures. It should be noted as well that civil servants, most employees of airplanes, trains and buses, as well as many people in business directly serving the general public would be required to be bilingual. The two base cultures should not be isolated from one another. Through education, social and cultural activities and groups, members of one culture would develop a deeper insight into the mentality of their co-patriots in the other cultural group.

The concept of "multiculturalism", which has arisen in Western Canada, originates with the various ethnic groups which have populated Canada since Confederation. It is based on the consideration of the French simply as another ethnic group. The concept of multi-culturalism is not designed to deny the French people any rights or privileges, but rather to obtain similar rights and privileges for all the ethnic groups of Canada. It must be realized, however, that the French people of Canada are not just another ethnic group, but rather a deeply rooted Canadian base culture. The French language shares the legal position of the English language as officially recognized in education in some provinces, in Parliament and in the courts. Canada has been greatly enriched as a nation by the contributions of other ethnic groups, but these contributions have been made as sub-cultures of the English culture, and have not become distinct, self-supporting cultures in Canada.

There remain in Canada two distinct base cultures enriched by the contributions of other ethnic groups. This is the dualism upon which the country must develop. The realisation of dualism within the country would be a move to pacify the French people in their struggle for equal citizenship, but rather a development which would prove beneficial to all Canadians.

4-7-3 We as Students are Interested in this Problem

We as students, and as young Canadians, are particularly interested in resolving this problem. As students, we are representative of the generation of Canadians who will be next to lead the country, and as such we must strive toward the strength of unity and understanding. As young people, we lack the vested interest of our parents in old values and are more free to accept new concepts and ways of life. We therefore feel that we have a responsibility to ourselves as individuals and to the country as a whole to concern ourselves with the future unity and harmony between the two base cultures of Canada.

As a religious organization, we must examine the political, economical and other social activities in the light of what we conceive to be right and just. At this time, we feel that the future :growth of Canada along the lines of dualism outlined above, is of prime importance in this field of thought. We also have a responsibility to make suggestions to the churches in their striving for spiritual unity and brotherhood between the people of the world.

As Manitobans we feel that our best contribution would be made by attempting to tackle the problems of misunderstanding and injustice which exist between the English and French cultures within our own province. These problems must be solved at their source; they cannot be solved simply by a sweeping national solution since the problems vary so greatly from province to province and because the most formidable task is the changing of attitudes and ideas. Therefore, our recommendations are restricted to Manitoba situations and institutions in the hope that a solution worked out on the basis of relatively local problems will contribute toward the union of the French and English base cultures in a dualism which will be the backbone of the Canada of the future.

4-7-4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the institutions and groups which we examined:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Schools | 5. Business and advertising groups |
| 2. The University | 6. Cultural groups and other media |
| 3. Churches | of communication |
| 4. Other Ethnic Groups | 7. Leadership groups |

SCHOOLS: The question of education is of prime importance. The French feel that they are losing gradually their cultural heritage and even their language because their children are taught completely in English.

S.C.M. Cont'd..

4-7-4 SCHOOLS (continued)

If the French were allowed to receive their public education in their own language, as much as possible, the French culture in Manitoba could be preserved better. The English-speaking people would benefit equally since teachers of the French language would be easier to attain.

Therefore we recommend: 1. that French be the language of instruction in all schools where it would be feasible. Feasible places would be those communities where French people are in a majority and where there could be adequate provisions for those not wishing such instruction to be transported to another school. a. In order to help supply teachers, we recommend that a French Teachers' College be established. One such institution could serve the three prairie provinces. Here, prospective teachers could be trained in their own language and acquire a deeper understanding of their culture. Moreover, those who wish to teach French to English-speaking people could be trained here as well.

While speaking of changes, there was a feeling that the teaching of French in English schools could be improved greatly if French conversational courses could be started in grade I (a language is easier to grasp in the formative years) and also if there was a greater stress on teaching English grammar. Many students are held back now because their English grammar is poor.

THE UNIVERSITY: In the University we see the need for a student organization which would be able to promote and to practice 'dualism'. However, it seems to be premature to start such an organization at the present. More preliminary studies need to be undertaken beforehand. We make the following recommendations:

1. that the S.C.M. cabinet be asked to write to the local C.U.S. chairman commending his committee for their work in the area of bi-culturalism and expressing mutual concern and hope for mutual co-operation.
2. that the University Lecture Committee be consulted and asked to consider bringing speakers to the campus who would be able to speak on the topic.
3. that the S.C.M. Lecture Chairman consider topics on dualism in the lecture series.

THE UNIVERSITY (continued)

4. that because of a desire on the part of many English-speaking students to participate in French-language activities and also to fraternize with French-Canadian students we suggest that the S.C.M. cabinet draw this matter to the attention of the Association des Etudiants du College de Saint-Boniface.
5. that the Administration might consider: a) allowing honours French Students to take some courses at St. Boniface College; b) allowing the history of Canada or the history of France to be taken by English-speaking students at St. Boniface College; c) allowing an exchange of lecturers and professors between St. Boniface and the rest of the University.
6. that a French centre be established at the University.

CHURCHES: Traditionally the churches have held negative attitudes regarding the relationship between the two basic ethnic groups in Canada. English churches have tended to be the bastion of English superiority and shown ignorance of the 'French problem'. On the other hand, the French churches have had the feeling which is characterized in the slogan 'Qui perd la langue, perd la foi'. We propose that churches be asked to help define and study dualism to church members in the following ways:

1. Through Study Groups - (1) Major English and French denominations could work together in order to prepare study material and outlines on dualism for study groups. We feel that the problem of dualism needs to be worked out and understood between the French and English before either can discuss the problem effectively with Canadians of other ethnic origin. We feel that the English churches in particular have a special responsibility in creating understanding of the problems surrounding dualism. The English aren't as likely to be thought of as demanding special privileges when they are simply seeking basic rights, not for themselves but for their French co-patriots.

4-7-4

CHURCHES (continued)

2. Youth groups such as Y.P.U., A.Y.P.A., C.Y.O., and others can do much through discussions on the topic. It is also suggested that they investigate the possibilities of student exchanges which would enable students from French-speaking families to spend a few weeks in an English-speaking family and vice versa.
3. The Canadian Council of Churches and the national office of the Student Christian Movement should be asked to include dualism with other matters of immediate concern.

OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS: Other ethnic groups must not be made to feel inferior in any way. They have made and continue to make valuable contributions in the many fields of art, politics, commerce, agriculture and industry, that is to say, to the society as a whole. We believe that their cultural contributions be related to the two base cultures rather than simply to the English base culture. We are not uninterested in preserving the languages of other ethnic groups. But preserving these languages should not be confused with the preservation of the official languages of Canada. To promote greater understanding between the English and French on the one hand and other ethnic groups on the other, we recommend:

1. That educational visits to ethnic centres and communities by French and English speaking students be sponsored.
2. that the S.C.M. should approach Hillel for a joint study of dualism.

BUSINESS AND ADVERTISING: We recognize that dualism can be promoted or hindered through business and advertising. In particular, we are concerned about the lack of bilingualism in advertising.

1. We recommend that an open letter be sent to 'La Liberte et le Patriote' concerning this lack of responsibility on the part of the French business community towards the development of dualism and of a French identity in Saint Boniface.

CULTURAL GROUPS AND MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION:

1. We pay tribute to the French Radio Station C.K.S.B. We recommend that C.K.S.B. feature a short weekly programme on the topic of

S.C.M. Cont'd..

4-7-4 (continued)

CULTURAL GROUPS etc.

dualism. Possibly students and others interested in the topic might be interviewed.

2. A greater awareness of the Cercle Moliere and other French 'cultural' productions should be made amongst the English-speaking community. Also the M.T.C. should be publicized in St. Boniface.
3. Generally there should be more publicity amongst the two basic groups of the cultural activities of one another.

DUALISM AND LEADERSHIP: There is a great need for leadership amongst both the English and French in the area of Dualism. Possibly there will develop a volunteer group from which leadership can be developed.

4-7-5 THE ROYAL COMMISSION

We ask the cabinet to ask the S.C.M. of Canada to present a brief to the Royal Commission Biculturalism and Bilingualism. The brief will be prepared under the leadership of the Manitoba unit.

YUILL, G. K. - Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, U of M., third generation Canadian and Winnipegger of Scottish ancestry-speak only English fluently.

4-8-1

Rational Approach to the Problem

1) Language as communication

a) Equal rights in government.

- i - Any citizen who must communicate with government must have available a person who speaks his language or an interpreter.
- ii - Government hiring on basis of convenience of communication, and equality of opportunity. Bilingualism an advantage in some cases.
- iii - Private business - language is private business.
- iv - Government services such as T.V. or radio available according to demand.
- v - 2.2 million translators are available.
- vi - Teach French and English from Grade I, if not costly of time.

4-8-2 Culture

Any individual who practises cultural patterns different from his neighbors is free to retain them.

4-8-3 Racism - Identity with group.

- i - Reason - gain power to take advantage of other groups.
 - Jews - envy of supposed riches.
 - Negroes - exploit inferior position.
- ii - Examples in French Canada.
 - a) Hees as president of Canadian and Montreal Stock Exchanges - Bilingual-objection on grounds of race.
 - b) Conseil d'Expansion Economique - Marchand of Melchers.
 - 5500 - 51% French Canadian owned companies on "buy from" list.
 - Quebec government - 12% preference for Quebec-made products.

TITLE: Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: University of Manitoba Students' Union.

Brief of 12 pages; 22 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST: Included in this brief is an appendix of 41 pages; it comprises comments by 6 persons. 2 of whom are French Canadians from "le Collège St-Boniface". The others are from the University of Manitoba.

This brief is of moderate tone, and while it recognizes the French fact in Manitoba, it suggests that French Canadians keep their culture and accept that they must make a living in English.

ATT.: RESEARCH

PAGE

On % of different ethnic groups in Canada 9

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

PAGES

RECOMMENDATIONS: On education para. 2-1 to 2-8
On culture " 2-9 to 2-15
On Government " 2-16 to 2-22

BRIEF:

Introduction 1

Conclusions 2

-language 2

-culture 2

-race 3

Manitoba 8

Appendix

Georges Allaire: Collège St-Boniface 14

Wallace Chubaty: U. of Manitoba 18

Professor C. Jaenen: United College 25

Dr. P.A. Kondra: U. of Manitoba 31

Raymond Hébert 39

By: The University of Manitoba Students' Union

SUMMARY:

Introduction - (p. 1)

- Brief compiled by a committee of three students chosen by the students' council.
- The opinions expressed are those gathered at an official hearing on the subject. - Those hearings were held at the University campus, United College and Le Collège St-Boniface. - Seminars were organized and briefs were submitted. A summary of these activities was submitted to the council and was accepted unanimously as the foundations for the following brief. It's a synopsis of student opinion.

Conclusions - (pp. 2 to 4)

Dealing with language, culture and race.

A. LANGUAGE (para. 1-2 to 1-7)

French and English being the languages of the two founding people, the committee endorses the idea of a bilingual Canada which means that the federal legislature and courts also the legislature of Québec are bilingual - but in no way is it obligatory for other provincial governments to become bilingual.

- The federal Civil Service should become bilingual and so should other federal organs. Canadian Foreign Affairs should also be a bilingual department.

B. CULTURE. (para. 1-8 to 1-13)

But Canada should be multicultural; every ethnic group should profit by hearing the other's culture.

- The C.B.C. "should be used to carry Canadian contributions to other Canadians in their language".

C. RACE (para. 1-14 to 1-17)

- Many French Canadians refuse bilingualism, they are racists and their demands are destructive to the harmony of the whole country.- They want an unfair partnership - And to consider this problem, racism has to be put out of the question.

MANITOBA - (pp. 8-12)

- Manitoba was to be a bilingual province but immigration did upset the balance and presently only 10% of the population is French, 43% Anglo-Saxon and 48% of other origins.
- The Ukrainians which form 13% of the population want the same rights as French Canadians.
- St-Boniface College might have to close its doors if French schools are not established.
- The Anglo-Saxons' view are more sympathetic to the French demands than to the other groups' demands.
- The Ukrainians which forms 6% of Canada's population compared to the German's 8% are more demanding than the latter; the Ukrainians want their mother tongue to be as honored as French.
- The French-Canadian Catholics are trying to take advantage of the present debate and obtain additionnal aid for their school.
- French was maintained by the clergy through such organization as "les Chevaliers de Colomb", "les Caisses populaires" and other French Catholic organizations. The great achievement; the "Collège classique St-Boniface".
- But the college faces two problems:
 - "the parochial school system is having increasing difficulties in providing an adequate supply of students for University level".
 - "the college's graduates migrate (flee) to Québec".
- The solution would be:
 - to push for French school with a full curriculum in French. To increase the number of students at St-Boniface College. BUT that would be an economic suicide for the children; it would be a practical impossibility to do post graduate studies when their previous education was completely in French.
- But the answer lies in the hands of Québec. And equal partnership should be created between French Canadians in Québec and those in the rest of Canada

"The French caucus of C.U.S. should include all French institutions of higher learning outside Québec. French Canadians in the West are foster children and the only parents that can adopt them is Québec."

- The French Canadian must adapt himself to his entourage; he must be properly bilingual knowing that a good part of his life will be lead in English. It is the only way for him to survive in Western Canada.
- Let us not take the issue for a religious one; "French is a Canadian language and must be recognized as such".
- The problem is not of an economic nature in the West but rather personal and educational.

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-612

University of Manitoba
Students' Union

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

A student of university entering his first year (full time) is eligible for membership.

2. OBJECTIVES

A students' union would have the orientation of students, dissemination of information among them, organization of activities, etc.

3. HAS BRIEF PREPARED

1. Compiled by committee of 3 students chosen by Students' Council (elected body by students' union).

2. Opinions were gathered at an official hearings, at University campus at United College and at Collège Saint-Boniface.

3. Also, seminars were organized, briefs submitted.

Summaries of above accepted as foundations for Brief.

4. Considered on synopsis of student opinion.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

para. 1-14 " ... many French Canadians are ... racist ..." Evidence?

para. 1-17 Definition of "racism" and "ethnic considerations".

para. 2-6 Elaboration of this point.

para. 2-8 " ... committee feels that French demands for completely French schools are unrealistic in the light of social and economic surroundings."

Explanation: Position of French-speaking minorities outside Quebec?

Brief #: 760-612

- para. 2-15 Interchange of students at Saint-Boniface and University of Manitoba. Is this idea applicable elsewhere in Canada?
- para. 2-12 "That the government give more importance to cultural achievements of its citizens." What do you mean specifically?
- paras 3-5, 6,7 References to the ethnic groups of origins other than French and English are pretty sweeping. "... their negative approach..." etc.
- para. 3-11 How can the "potential elite" be persuaded to stay in Manitoba?
- para. 3-13 Pretty unspecific about how Quebec can help the French-speaking minorities.
- para. 3-14 "Today many French Canadians in the West spend all their energy striving for sheer survival."

C. RESEARCH SECTION

- 1) Pourriez-vous décrire le processus par lequel vous êtes arrivé à opter pour l'indépendance du Québec?
- 2) Combien et précisément quels Franco-Manitobains pensent comme vous?

Page 3

Heading 1-14

Please enlarge on your comment that some French Canadians are "racist".

Division III

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA STUDENTS UNION

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. p. 10 Do you think the College's curriculum is suited for students wishing to enter further studies in natural, applied or social sciences?
2. p. 10-11 Do some College students (classical) go to Quebec for university studies? If so, for what reasons?

Brief #: 760-612

3. p. 19-20 1) Manitoba - 43% of population is of British origin.
9% of population is of French origin.
48% is neither of British nor French origin; the Ukrainians are the largest percentage of this forming nearly 11.43%.

Order of Size - British Isles, Ukrainian, Germans, French, Dutch, Polish, Hebrew, Italian, etc. (last four not in order.)
In the other Western provinces the situation is something like this:

SASKATCHEWAN - 40.3% of British origin.
6.5% of French
53% of neither French nor British origin.

ALBERTA - 45% of British origin
6% of French
49% of neither French nor British.

BRITISH COLUMBIA -

36.5% of the population is of neither French nor British origin.
4.1% of French origin.
Some 59% of the population is of British origin. In the three prairie provinces the third element forms about 50% of the population.

Statistiques)
corrigées par) H. Brown

Il y a 7 corrections. Elles sont soulignées

p.10
No. 3.10
et 3.11

A third problem (might come) from the college's curriculum for students wishing to go into Science or Social Sciences. ..Their training is considered insufficient by many U. of Manitoba departments and if they stayed in the province they would be required to have one or more make-up years before entering graduate studies.

La question est de savoir si l'étudiant qui quitte le Manitoba pour Québec le fait pour finir ses études plus tôt ou non. Par exemple les maîtrises en Science politique et en Sociologie sont de 3 ans (Montréal) ou 4 ans (laval). Est-ce vraiment plus court ou est-ce le même nombre d'années qu'un étudiant de St-Boniface devrait consacrer pour l'obtention d'une maîtrise à l'Un. of Manitoba. Et en économie? En génie?

- A BRIEF -

Submitted to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

on

BILINGUALISM and BICULTURALISM

By: The Senate of the University of Manitoba.

A Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and
Biculturalism by the Senate of the University of Manitoba

1). In presenting this brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Senate of the University of Manitoba is concerned to make its views known more specifically on the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism as they affect university teaching and research in Manitoba. It does not seek to advance any specific views about the Canadian situation as a whole, or even about the whole situation in Manitoba. The brief will touch on questions of political controversy only insofar as these are involved in the immediate tasks of the university. It will, for example, not concern itself with the use of French and English in the federal civil service; but it must consider such questions as the language policies of the Manitoba school system, since these policies have a direct effect upon the work of the University of Manitoba, and on the degree to which it can contribute to the development of bilingualism and biculturalism. In imposing these limitations on our brief, we have in mind not only the general principle that a university should collectively commit itself to political statements only when its own functions are directly concerned, but also the need to give to the Commission as clear a picture as possible of the particular situation of the University of Manitoba and its contribution in the past, the present and the future to the development of the two languages and culture. We are also concerned to make clear the commitment of the University of Manitoba to the preservation and development of the languages and cultures of the linguistic minorities in this province.

Definitions and General Aims

2). Since the terms "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" are susceptible of varying interpretations, we wish to make clear the sense in which we use the terms in this brief. By "bilingualism" we mean the use, by an individual, a group, an institution, or a whole society, of two languages; and we follow the working paper of the Royal Commission in applying this term specifically to the French and English languages. By "biculturalism" we mean the participation of individuals and groups in the cultures associated with the French and English languages in Canada. We take as our starting point the belief that both bilingualism and biculturalism, in the senses in which we have defined them, ought to be deliberately fostered; and we are concerned to suggest how this may best be done within the University of Manitoba, and what the University can do to further this aim in the community of which it is a part. We have especially considered the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in a province in which large parts of the population belong by origin, by religious affiliation, and by tradition, to linguistic and cultural traditions other than French and English. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that we have throughout given careful thought to the importance of meeting the legitimate aspirations of these groups.

The Two Cultures in the University

3). The University of Manitoba has its roots in bilingualism and biculturalism, for its foundation colleges were the Anglican and English-speaking St. John's College, the Roman Catholic and French-speaking College de Saint-Boniface, and the Presbyterian English-speaking Manitoba College. In the hundred years since the founding

of these colleges there have, no doubt, been periods of stress and strain. But the essential character of the ideals of both the English and French cultural traditions has been maintained intact and encouraged to grow without hindrance within the continually expanding University. The affiliated College de Saint-Boniface, through its representation on the University Senate, shares the corporate life of the University and in forming academic policy. On the student level there is further cooperation and cultural collaboration; St. Boniface students share in university student activities and sports; the University regularly presents French plays at St. Boniface College.

4). In a wider context, the University of Manitoba is fortunate in having the advantage of a French-medium constituent college, which serves as a link between the University and the French colleges of Quebec. St. Boniface College is well placed to carry out this function, and also to act as an interpreter of Canadian-French higher education and its methods to the English-speaking university community in Manitoba.

5). Throughout the University of Manitoba, French and English are officially recognized as languages of instruction and examination. Not only are examinations set in French for the students of St. Boniface College, but any student of the University may write any examination in French or in English. Such a degree of equality is, to the best of our knowledge, seldom attained in Canada; and this bilingual system seems to be effective in practice.

6). But the beneficial effect of the bilingual official structure of the University of Manitoba in promoting bilingualism and cultural understanding is, however, offset to some degree by a number of practical limitations. The degree offered by St. Boniface is a B.A. in

Latin Philosophy; the pattern of its program has been different from that of the B.A. degree given by the University and the English-medium colleges. In recent years efforts have been made to bring these courses into a closer relationship. The general body of students and faculty at St. Boniface tends still to be somewhat isolated both physically and psychologically from the rest of the University, and there is undoubtedly room for further growth of cooperation and interchange at every level.

The University's Role in the Propagation of French Language and Culture

7). As we have indicated, St. Boniface College is the central bastion of French language and culture for the French-speaking community in Manitoba. It falls at present to the other colleges and the University proper to undertake on the university level the main task of propagating the French language and French culture amongst the non-French population of Manitoba.

8). As of the session 1963-64 there are in the University and its Colleges 27 full-time instructors in French (excluding those in St. Boniface). In 1963 the University Summer Session employed 14 instructors in French. Of these, only one, a Manitoban by origin, is Canadian French. One of the difficulties faced by the University in its endeavor to recruit Canadian French instructors is the apparent reluctance of qualified teachers to serve outside Quebec and its immediate environs. This is a problem which perhaps should be given special attention, for it seems clear that an improvement in English-French cultural relations in Canada must depend to some extent on the availability of Canadian French teachers, not only in the Departments of French, but also in other departments of English-speaking universities, and in the schools of the predominantly English-speaking provinces.

9). The entrance requirements of the University stipulate that each student shall have a second language on entrance; in practice this is most often French. In the past, all Arts students were required to take a second language to the second year level, and all Science students to the first year level, their commonest choice being French. In 1963-64 some 2,500 students of a total of 8,000 were studying French. (These figures do not include St. Boniface). From September 1964, though university entrants will still be required to have offered a second language for matriculation (except in the Faculties of Home Economics and Agriculture), the requirement of a second language in the University for Arts students will be changed, except in the Music curriculum, to a requirement that all students in Arts and Science must elect three courses in a list of basic subjects in the humanities, composed of English, History, Philosophy and the major languages - Latin, Greek, French, German, or Russian.

10). In addition to regular degree courses in French, the University provides credit courses in French for about 300 students in the annual Summer Session. Most of the students are teachers seeking to improve their professional qualifications. In 1963 Brandon College offered a part-time French Summer School for teachers. The University also offers, through its Evening Institute, classes for the general public in conversational French at three different levels. The Evening Session offers credit-giving courses in French for teachers, either on the Campus or at an outside centre like Portage la Prairie. These courses have proved so popular that it is becoming difficult to find sufficient staff to teach them.

11). Ten years ago the University instituted, and still offers, an Oral Proficiency Certificate in French or German (later including Russian or Ukrainian). This certificate was originally recognized under certain circumstances for professional purposes, but this recognition was later withdrawn for administrative reasons.

12). The teaching of French in the University places great and progressively increasing stress on the use of the French language, so that by the fourth year of instruction all the work in the general B.A. program is conducted in French. The Honours courses are from the beginning exclusively conducted in French, and students completing these courses are well equipped to use the language both in speaking and in writing. Although there are a considerable number of students who continue to study French at the graduate level, few of them, unfortunately, seem attracted to High School teaching.

13). The Departments of French in the University and its Colleges are actively engaged in the informal encouragement of French through lunch-hour activities, the fortnightly showing of French films, and through the very active student French Clubs. The University and St. Boniface College each produces a French play annually, and St. Boniface College has recently arranged week-end student seminars in some nearby French village where students can live with those who habitually speak French.

14). Because of the difficulty referred to above, of recruiting suitably qualified Canadian French teachers, Canadian French studies have not been specially emphasized. The new program to be instituted in 1964-65 will, however, include a course in modern Canadian French literature. St. Boniface College includes Canadian literature as part of its first-year French Literature course.

15). In 1962 the University established a new division of Modern Languages (excluding English), to co-ordinate the study of these languages. Inter-communicating courses are being planned, mostly at the graduate level, and will begin to operate when the Ph.D. graduate courses now being instituted are further developed.

16). This account of the University's contributions towards bilingualism and biculturalism in Manitoba is offered in no spirit of complacency. Though much has been and is being done, the University recognizes the need for a further development of its work in this field. In particular, there may well be scope for a greater representation of Canadian French Literature, life, and thought, not only in the courses offered by the French Department - where a shortage of Canadian French teachers has imposed some limitations - but also in courses in the humanities and social sciences. There is also scope for a further development of extension work in Canadian French language and culture, especially in summer residential courses where students can live for a time in a thoroughly Canadian French environment. It is perhaps superfluous to detail here all the opportunities which may, in the future, be open to the University; but perhaps it should be said that within the limits of its resources in qualified teachers and finance, the University fully recognizes its obligations and will do what it can to fulfil them. Perhaps the most urgent task in this field is that of reducing, so far as may be possible, the invisible and intangible barriers which at present obstruct the free flow of ideas between English Canada and French Canada.

French in the Schools

17). Since the University depends on the schools for the recruitment of students into its Department of French, it is necessary to offer a brief account of the present state of the French language in the public schools. The University has an important share, through the High School Examination Board, the University Matriculation Committee, the Advisory Board, and through the presence of its members on advisory committees, in the shaping and directing of the school curriculum.

18). French has always had an important place in the school curriculum. Because the University requires a second language for entrance, and French is the most widely available language in the schools, about 70% of matriculation candidates study French. For nearly ten years French has been available in some of the larger urban elementary schools from Grade IV, and the Department is now committed to the rapid lowering of the age at which children make their first acquaintance with the French language. At the same time, much greater emphasis is now being placed on the importance of the spoken language at all levels of instruction. The Winnipeg School Board is arranging this year in-service and summer school courses in oral French, and it is hoped that the University may find it possible to revive its French Summer School program for teachers, abandoned some years ago for the lack of funds.

19). In addition to the French courses intended for English-speaking pupils, courses different in form and content are available in all grades from I to XII for those whose mother tongue is French. These François or French Option courses are studied and examined in French, carry precisely the same credits as their counterparts for English-speaking pupils, and are controlled by the same Departmental regulations.

They make it possible for a pupil who uses French already as his normal means of communication to develop his linguistic ability and to have some acquaintance with the literature both of French and of French Canada. They flourish mostly in the rural areas where French is still widely used in the home.

20). The Department of Education and the teachers are very conscious of the importance of presenting French in its Canadian aspects. In 1964, four of the six matriculation examiners in French are Canadian French; two of the six members of the High School Curriculum Committee for French are Canadian French; the program of oral training in the schools ^{IN WOMEN'S} is administered by a Canadian French supervisor. The Grade XI course prescribes two reading texts, one dealing with life in France, the other an anthology of Canadian French writing.

21). Though much progress has been made, and is now being accelerated, there are considerable difficulties still to be overcome. Too many teachers of French have only a slight acquaintance with the written language, and a still slighter one with its spoken form. Unfortunately, the best university graduates in French show little interest in the teaching profession at the High School level, and the chief effort to improve the standard of instruction must go into the further training of the teachers at present in the schools, and into the provision of language laboratories and other teaching aids. Valuable as these laboratories and aids are, they are in no sense the equivalent of a steady supply of well-trained teachers.

The Ethnic Groups

22). In addition to fostering an understanding of French and of Canadian French culture in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon environment,

the University also has the task of providing for the languages and the cultures of the "ethnic groups". Before we consider this more closely, we must take note of two confusions which tend to recur in public discussion of the problems involved.

23). The first of these is the tendency to fuse all the ethnic groups, except the English and the French, into a single entity. By grouping these disparate elements together, it is possible to advance a plausible argument for a "third force" in the Canadian linguistic situation. It is necessary, therefore, to note that whilst, according to the 1961 census figures, the "third element" accounts for 26% of the population of Canada, its largest single component, the German ethnic group, accounts for 5.8% of the total population. Since the other groups are all much smaller, it is clear that there can be no doubt of the predominance of ~~the~~ English and French in Canada as a whole, and no possibility of advancing a substantial claim for equality of treatment for any other language with English and French.

24). The second source of confusion - more difficult to remove - is the uncertainty involved in deriving statistics of language and of cultural affiliation from statistics based on ethnic origin. The actual number of persons habitually speaking German, for example, is smaller than that of persons of German ethnic origin.

25). When this has been said, it remains true, and of very great importance to the University of Manitoba, that the population of Manitoba is predominantly neither French nor Anglo-Saxon in origin, and that the languages and cultures of the Ukrainians, Germans, Icelanders, and other minority groups are a living part of the Manitoban scene. No educational policy which fails to take account of this fact can be

soundly based; and any policy designed to further bilingualism must take account not only of the aspirations but also of the fears of the minority groups. In particular, the fears that arise from the entirely legitimate and praiseworthy desire of these minorities to maintain their languages and traditions impose some limits on the speed and vigor with which bilingualism in French and English can be promoted in Manitoba. To members of these minority groups, any dual requirement of French and English imposes the obligation to acquire not a second, but a third language. It is, therefore, vitally important that they should see the development of bilingualism not as an imposed burden, but as an opportunity, and as an entrenchment of the multilingual character of Canada. It has been well said that the chief threat to the "ethnic" languages is not bilingualism, but the prejudices and ignorance of the unilingual. It is necessary, so far as possible to persuade the "ethnic" groups of this truth; and this can be done only if the program for developing bilingualism is conducted in a spirit of genuine respect for the other languages, and is accompanied by a positive program of support for them.

26). The University of Manitoba is already doing much to further the study of the languages and cultures of the "ethnic" groups. It has a Department of Slavic Studies, with four full-time instructors; this department was established twelve years ago with the financial support of the Ukrainian community. It is now fully supported by the University budget. The Department works in close collaboration with the many Slavic cultural groups in the City of Winnipeg; it is prolific in its publications, and it has helped to make Winnipeg one of the most important Ukrainian cultural centres of Canada. A further development of the University's role in the maintenance of Ukrainian culture is the establishment of St. Andrew's College as an associated

College on the University Campus. This College is designed as a residence for Ukrainian students and as a theological training centre for the Greek Orthodox Church.

27). The Jewish group is at present considering the establishment on the Campus of a college of general study and a seminary. With the help of the Jewish community, and largely with their financial support, the University has established, and hopes to expand, a Department of Judaic Studies, with a staff of three who conduct courses in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Jewish thought and tradition.

28). In 1951, the Icelandic group endowed a Chair of Icelandic Studies in the University with an endowment fund of \$250,000. This has enabled the University to appoint associate professors from Iceland, to develop and encourage Icelandic studies and to build up a specialized library, said to be one of the largest outside Iceland. The Government of Iceland has granted to the University the right of legal deposit of all books published in Iceland.

29). German studies have of course for long been well developed in the University. The University Department of German has a permanent staff of three, and offers courses in German to the M.A. level. German is also taught to degree level in some of the affiliated Colleges. The University Department attracts many students from other universities to its post-graduate courses. Staff and students cooperate with interested persons outside the University in the encouragement and maintenance of German language and culture, especially through participation in the various Sprachfeste. Courses in German are offered in the Summer Session of the University, and are of great value to the teaching profession in the Province.

30). Consideration is now being given to the introduction of Italian and Spanish into the regular program of University courses.

31). In the new University of Manitoba curriculum in Arts, to begin in September 1964, the "minority" languages may be chosen equally with English and French as major or minor subjects in the pattern that can be selected by a student and an interested student may study them both in depth and breadth. Up to 11 courses out of the total of 15 required for a degree can be chosen in languages other than English and French. A student may concentrate entirely on "minority" languages and his program need not contain any courses in either English or French for the B.A. degree.

32). The University of Manitoba is thus well equipped to further mutual understanding and, as we have seen already, it is doing a great deal in the fields of Slavic, Judaic, Icelandic and German studies, to promote knowledge of and respect for the distinctive cultures of various ethnic groups. We consider that the interests of these groups are in no way in conflict with the ideal of a wider development of English-French biculturalism. On the contrary, the successful development of English-French biculturalism can only tend to create a tolerance of and interest in cultural diversity, and a more adventurous attitude towards the exploration of the diverse cultural inheritance of Canada. The successful promotion of English-French bilingualism in the schools and the university would, we believe, encourage a livelier interest in language studies and make the acquisition of a third language seem a less formidable task than it at present appears to be. Moreover, the alternative to greater English-French bilingualism is not likely to be English-German or English-Ukrainian bilingualism, but an ever-increasing unilingualism.

33). Though we believe this to be true, the present public discussion of bilingualism has inevitably created some feelings of insecurity amongst the cultural leaders of the "ethnic" groups, who fear that their own languages and cultures may be squeezed out by the encouragement of English-French bilingualism. More will be needed to reassure them than arguments, however rational these may be. Some positive measure is needed to demonstrate in a practical way the value placed by the community as a whole on the contribution made to Canadian life by the "ethnic" groups. In Manitoba, this might well take the form of an officially supported and publicly financed Cultural Arts Council for the Province, with the task of preserving and developing the languages and cultures of the linguistic minorities of Manitoba. This we believe would provide both help and reassurance to the "ethnic" groups, and demonstrate to them that the development of English-French bilingualism implies no belittlement of their own traditions and languages.

RECOMMENDATIONS

General

- A. We recognize the paramount claims of the French and English languages as the historically dominant and officially recognized languages of Canada, and consider that it is in the national interest, and to the advantage of the individual citizen, that Canadians should be encouraged and helped to increase their knowledge and understanding of both languages. Whilst it is clear that French will continue to predominate in Quebec and English in the other Provinces, we consider that greater mutual comprehension of the "other" language and culture by both French and English-speaking Canadians is needed in the interests of national unity and for the cultural enrichment of Canadian life.

- B. We do not consider that biculturalism and bilingualism should be interpreted as meaning that only the officially recognized languages and the cultures related to them should have official approval and encouragement. Since Canadian culture can only grow out of the diverse cultures of the whole population, and since unity can only arise from a knowledge of these cultures, every agency that will promote this knowledge should be publicly encouraged. We wish, however, to make a distinction between the general encouragement of all languages and cultures in Canada, and the special provisions to be made for French and English as the official and predominant languages of the nation. We consider that languages other than English and French should be made available in the educational system in accordance with local needs and desires, but that there should be no special privileges for any of these languages.

Specific Recommendations

More specifically, we recommend:

- C. So far as is practicable, opportunities should be provided for education through the medium of either language. In Manitoba, this would involve the establishment of schools where French is the medium of instruction for all pupils, or of schools in which a French channel is available as the medium of instruction.
- D. A residential French language summer school should be established to enable teachers and others to improve their competence in the spoken language and to provide a favorable environment for the study of French Canadian culture.

- E. There should be a systematic exchange of teachers between Quebec and the other Provinces.
- F. Teachers should be encouraged to become bilingual by the payment of grants and allowances to those who are proficient in both languages.
- G. A system of student scholarships should be introduced to enable school children to reside in Quebec or to "exchange" with Quebec children.
- H. Official encouragement and support should be given to publicity designed to make students aware of the advantages in a bilingual country of a knowledge of both languages. The increasing mobility of Canadians and the increasing requirement of bilingualism in the public service, commerce, industry, and the professions should be brought to the attention of students and their parents.
- I. We recommend the establishment in Manitoba of a Cultural Arts Council dedicated to the promoting of the cultures and languages of the various ethnic groups in the Province. This should be publicly financed, with adequate funds at its disposal; and it should be representative of all groups in the Province, including the French and English. Its task would be to preserve the ethnic mosaic of Manitoba, in particular by developing the study and knowledge of the languages, the literature, and the arts of all groups, and to do so on a large enough scale to ensure the achievement of practical results.

1/11/21
- 13/2/21

RECOMMENDATIONS - From a Brief

Submitted to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

on

BILINGUALISM and BICULTURALISM

By: The Senate of the University of Manitoba.

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TITLE: A Brief Submitted to the
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by
The Senate of the University of Manitoba

AUTHOR:

*See also J. notes
+ Bel's Paper*

Brief of 16 pages; 7 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST: This is a well-presented brief which goes far beyond its avowed purpose of presenting a picture of bilingualism and biculturalism in the University alone. It is sympathetic to a broader bilingualism and biculturalism in the country as a whole, but does not overlook the contributions of other ethnic groups.

ATT.: RESEARCH

- The Two Cultures in the University (pp. 2 to 4) for a general picture of the University of Manitoba as a bilingual institution.
- p. 4, para. 8 for number of full time French instructors
- p. 5, para. 9 for number of students studying French
- French in the Schools (pp. 8 & 9) for a general picture of French in Manitoba public schools.
- p. 8, para. 18 for number of matriculation candidates studying French
- p. 9, para. 20 for proportion of French Canadians in controlling positions re French courses
- The Ethnic Groups (pp. 9 to 14) for outline of courses and facilities offered at the University of Manitoba fostering languages and cultures of minority groups - in particular Ukrainian, Jewish, Icelandic and German studies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

PAGES

RECOMMENCATIONS:	General	14
	Specific	15
BRIEF:		
Introduction		1
Definitions and General Aims		2
The Two Cultures in the University		2
The University's Role in the Propagation of		
French Language & Culture		4
French in the Schools		8
The Ethnic Groups		9

Introduction, (page 1)

This brief is limited to giving "to the Commission as clear a picture as possible of the particular situation of the University of Manitoba and its contribution in the past, the present and the future to the development of the two languages and culture", and to make "clear the committment of the University of Manitoba to the preservation and development of the languages and cultures of the linguistic minorities in Manitoba".

Definitions & General Aims (page 2)

The University believes that "both bilingualism and biculturalism... ought to be deliberately fostered" and is concerned with the role which it can play to this end both within the University and the community at large. Special attention is paid to the fact that the University is situated in a province "in which large parts of the population belong by origin, by religious affiliation, and by tradition, to linguistic and cultural traditions other than French and English".

The Two Cultures in the University (page 2)

Of the three founding colleges of the University two were English (one Anglican, one Presbyterian) while the third was the French speaking, Roman Catholic College de Saint Boniface. The latter is still an affiliated college of the University, represented on the Senate, its students participating in the activities of the whole campus. It serves as a link between the University and its counterparts in Quebec, interpreting French Canadian higher education and its methods to the former. French and English are officially recognized as languages of instruction and examination throughout the University. Bilingualism is limited by the fact that St. Boniface gives only one degree, a B.A. in Latin Philosophy and this on a different pattern than the rest of the University, and by St. Boniface's physical and psychological isolation from the rest of the University.

The University's Role in the Propagation of French Language & Culture (page 4)

During 1963-64, the University, excluding St. Boniface's, employed 27 full-time French instructors. For the 1963 Summer Session the number was 14. Only one of these, a Manitoban, was Canadian French. "One of the

Suggestion? Hmmm

difficulties faced by the University in its endeavor to recruit Canadian French instructors is the apparent reluctance of qualified teachers to serve outside Quebec and its immediate environs". In practice, the second language required of entering students is French. In 1963-64, of a total of 8,000 students some 2,500 were studying French. However, the second language requirement which existed in the first two years of the Arts course and the first year of Science is being modified. The University offers credit courses in French for about 300 students in its summer session as well as courses in conversational French to the general public through its Evening Institute. These are offered both on campus and at other centers. "These courses have become so popular that it is becoming difficult to find sufficient staff to teach them". The University also offers an Oral Proficiency certificate in French. While students who complete the Honors course in French are well equipped to speak and write the language few seem attracted to High School teaching. The department of French in the University and its colleges actively encourage the use of French through various extra-curricular activities. Canadian French studies have not been emphasized because of a lack of trained teachers, but a course in modern French Canadian literature is being instituted in 1964-65. College St. Boniface already has such a course at the first year level. Though much has been and is being done the University recognizes the need for further development of its contribution to bilingualism and biculturalism in the province. This could include a greater representation of French Canadian life, literature and though to the whole of the University and a further development of extension work in French Canadian language and culture.

French in the Schools (page 8)

The University, by virtue of its entrance requirements and its place on many advisory groups has had an important share in the shaping and directing of the school curriculum. About 70% of matriculation candidates study French and in some of the larger urban schools courses are available from Grade IV. "The department is now committed to the rapid lowering of the age at which children make their first acquaintance with

the French language". Courses are now available in all grades from I to XII for students whose mother tongue is French. These flourish mostly in the rural areas where French is still widely used in the home. Emphasis is being placed on the Canadianization of all these courses. The quality of the courses is affected by the paucity of French speaking teachers for these courses, but it can be improved by the provision of mechanical teaching aids.

The Ethnic Groups (page 9)

While some 26% of the population of Canada is of other than French or English origin these disparate elements do not constitute a single entity. "Since the other groups are all much smaller, it is clear that there can be no doubt of the predominance of the English and French in Canada as a whole, and no possibility of advancing a substantial claim for equality of treatment for any other language with English and French". This whole question is also confused by the uncertainty involved in deriving statistics of language and cultural affiliation from statistics based on ethnic origin.

Nevertheless, it is important to the University "that the population of Manitoba is predominantly neither French nor Anglo-Saxon in origin". Minority languages and cultures are a living part of the Manitoba scene. These groups attempt to preserve their languages and cultures and to them bilingualism in the sense of English and French is actually trilingualism. A program for developing French and English bilingualism can only be successful if it "is conducted in a spirit of genuine respect for other languages, and is accompanied by a positive program of support for them".

Academy of Sciences & Humanities = Exp. FL2 + Eil.

The University has a department of Slavic Studies and has associated with it St. Andrews College which is a residence for Ukrainian students and a theological training center for the Greek Orthodox Church. The establishment of a Jewish college is being considered on the basis of an already existing Department of Judaic Studies. A Chair of Icelandic Studies was endowed in 1951 and has one of the largest specialized libraries outside Iceland. There is a well developed Department of German and some affiliated colleges offer courses in German as well.

Consideration is now being given to the introduction of Italian and Spanish into the regular program of University courses. Up to 11 courses out of 15 required for a degree can be chosen in languages other than French and English.

Some positive measures are needed to allay the fears of minority groups who see in the storm over bilingualism and biculturalism danger to their own traditions, and to demonstrate in a practical way the value placed by all on the contributions of various ethnic groups to the whole community. Public support of their efforts to preserve their cultures and languages would supply the reassurance.

l. f. ?

See Recommendation I

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 760-620

The Senate of the
University of Manitoba

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

Information not available.

1. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

By 2 committee who first prepared information papers

Committee drawn from all affiliated colleges,
Chairman, C. Meredith Jones of the French
Department

C. M. Jones also submitted a brief for the
Association of Teachers of French in the
University.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

p.15
para.B

On what basis would the local needs for the
teaching of languages other than French and
English be determined in any specific area and
would the criteria determining this need be
applicable to all areas where languages other
than French and English are used?

p.16
para.E

Have the writers of the brief given some
thought to the problem of how a systematic
exchange of teachers between Quebec and the
other provinces can be effectively achieved?

p.16
para.F

Could the recommendation that teachers who
are proficient in French and English be paid
allowances also apply to other professions in
Canada?

p.16
para.G

How would you recommend that such a system of
"exchange" scholarships be financed?

Other Questions

p.3
para.5

What percentage of the University staff and
students are bilingual and how in fact does this
bilingual system work out in the faculty of
Science for example? (at colleges other than
St-Boniface).

p.4
para.8

How would you account for the apparent reluctance
of qualified teachers to serve outside Quebec?

p.5
para.10

How do you account for the increased interest in
the French language either at summer school or at
evening classes?

p.9
para.21

Why do the best university graduates in French show
little interest in the teaching profession at the
high school level?

CA121
-63622

BRIEF
SUBMITTED TO THE
ROYAL COMMISSION
ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

BY THE
GENERAL FACULTY COUNCIL
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Edmonton, Alberta

June 1964

01151
1964-1965

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PART I. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS	1
PART II. INTRODUCTION	5
PART III. THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION	9
PART IV. MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA	13
PART V. TEACHING FRENCH IN THE SCHOOLS OF ALBERTA	15
PART VI. SOME POINTS OF VIEW	
A. Confederation: An Interpretation	18
B. Demographic Trends and Implications	20
C. The British Ethnic Group	28
D. The French Ethnic Group	30
E. The Non-British and Non-French Ethnic Groups	33
PART VII. SOME GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS	37
APPENDIX A. RELEVANT RESEARCH COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA	38
APPENDIX B. TABLES AND CHARTS	43

PART I

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Addressing itself to the Royal Commission's Terms of Reference whereby the Commission is instructed to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada, and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution," THE GENERAL FACULTY COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS:

Concerning the measures "to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration. . ." "including Crown Corporations"

- (1) That wherever there is a need for communication in both English and French, bilingualism be gradually expanded in the Federal Administration, including Crown Corporations, taking into account the interests of persons now employed by the Federal Administration.
- (2) That the Federal Administration provide training programmes and incentives for those employed in the Federal Administration interested in voluntarily developing their bilingual capabilities.

Concerning the measures "to improve" the "role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contributions made by the other cultures"

- (3) That consideration be given to extending the existing French language radio and television networks to the rest of Canada.
- (4) That the French and English networks provide some interchange of programmes at prime hours.
- (5) That the French and English networks allow time for presentation of programmes relating to other language and ethnic groups.

- (6) That the National Film Board be encouraged to prepare films which present the cultural contributions and activities of the various ethnic groups in Canada.
- (7) That the Commission take cognizance of the establishment of such Canadian film companies as L'Association des Cinéastes and Crawley Films and that broad support, public or otherwise, where possible, be accorded the native film industry in order that Canadian films of both the English and French languages may be encouraged and widely disseminated.
- (8) That the federal government continue, through its appropriate departments and agencies, efforts to obtain a broader, nation-wide distribution of National Film Board productions in both English and French. In those cases where there exists the possibility that certain trade practices restrict the distribution of such films, the Federal Department of Justice continue to examine the situation and to take such action as may be warranted.
- (9) That, while some of the daily newspapers are to be commended for such features as their extracts from the French Canadian press, all daily newspapers should be urged to move further along these lines, particularly:
 - (a) To re-examine some of their interpretations of French Canadian developments, which in the past have frequently shown a lack of understanding (this applies equally to some French newspapers regarding developments in English-speaking Canada);
 - (b) To remove wherever possible, the petty annoyance of not using accents in the spelling of French names and words;
 - (c) To urge its news-gathering medium, the Canadian Press, to supply its French-language members with copy in French.

Concerning "the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages" and the measures "to enable Canadians to become bilingual"

- (10) That increased educational opportunities commencing at the elementary school level be provided for the learning of English and French.
- (11) That steps be taken to increase the supply of qualified teachers of French in our elementary and secondary schools. The instruction should be offered only by qualified teachers with skill in speaking the language. In the French Departments of our schools we should try to make more use of the services of qualified French-speaking Canadians. (Reciprocal measures should be taken in French-speaking parts of Canada.)

- (12) That, in the programs of French in our schools, consideration be given to ways of improving co-ordination between different levels-- elementary school, high school, and university.
- (13) That terminal examinations in modern languages in our secondary schools reflect more adequately the place of audio-lingual teaching in the language program.
- (14) That the Federal Government, in cooperation with Provincial Governments, consider appropriate ways of helping to improve French or English language instruction in our schools. The following projects might be sponsored and encouraged with financial help:
 - (a) Exchanges of teachers of French and English between French- and English-speaking areas of Canada with organization of a national agency to facilitate such exchanges.
 - (b) Establishment in Canada of a higher institute devoted to teaching and research in linguistic sciences and in methods of teaching second languages.
 - (c) Improved facilities and aids for modern language instruction in the schools.
- (15) That attempts be made by proper authorities to include in school curricula and texts reliable information about all ethnic groups and their contributions to Canadian life so as to dispel biases based on ignorance or distorted data.

Concerning "the measures that should be taken to safeguard" the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada"

- (16) That consideration be given to the offering in schools, of languages of other ethnic groups wherever there is a request for them on the part of parents and whenever it is feasible in terms of the number of students involved.
- (17) That a division of labour should be agreed upon among the leading Canadian universities in developing at certain universities comprehensive programs of study of the language, culture and history of the individual ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian life.
- (18) That whenever public support is provided for Canadian cultural and artistic institutions and activities, it not be restricted to the two major ethnic groups alone, but be extended also to the institutions representative of the best cultural achievements of other ethnic groups.

Some General Recommendations

- (19) That institutes be created in each province, preferably within the structure of a provincial university, for the continuation of an interchange of ideas on bilingual and bicultural matters, such institutes taking the form best adapted to local and national needs.

In English-language universities these institutes may adopt such measures as:

- (a) Stimulation and co-ordination of library acquisitions in the field of published works and periodicals of French Canada and concerning French Canada.
 - (b) Arrangement of exchanges of staff and students between English-language and French-language Canadian universities.
 - (c) Establishment of a Chair of French Canadian literature.
 - (d) Encouragement of graduate work in French Canadian studies in appropriate departments.
 - (e) Encouragement of the offering of regular courses in French by various departments making it possible for a student to take a part of his studies in that language.
 - (f) Active liaison from the institute to the community through the sponsoring of conferences and public lectures on bilingualism and biculturalism and related matters.
 - (g) Creation of opportunities for inter-group programs involving English- and French-speaking Canadians in common efforts.
- (20) That a national conference or council be formed as early as possible to organize and support on a continuing basis the study of the problems of bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups. Representative of the ethnic components of Canadian people and endowed with funds necessary for the exercise of its functions, such a body should advise the government and the public at large of its findings and recommendations.
- (21) That symbolic recognition be granted from time to time by the governmental agencies and other public bodies to the presence in Canada and to the cultural contribution of the many ethnic groups, through postage stamps, geographical names, naming of streets, etc.
- (22) That Canadian universities should seriously examine the question whether and to what extent all their students are given adequate opportunities to study and gain a better understanding of the vast problems connected with the structure of Canadian society in general and bilingualism and biculturalism in particular. That whenever the answer is not fully positive, they should take steps for the introduction of the necessary programs.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

2. The main purpose of this brief is to examine and report upon the way, or ways, in which the academic staff of the University of Alberta view certain problems of language and culture in Canada. The academic staff reflects a wide range of backgrounds and interests. Most of the staff do not speak French, nor do they have occasion to use French in their daily lives. The little contact that most academic staff have had with the French-speaking part of Canada has seldom been of such a nature as to really help them understand the problems under investigation by the Royal Commission.
3. The terms of reference of the Royal Commission invite comment on problems of culture and language. Most anthropologists would agree that culture includes "knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society." It is also true, according to anthropologists, that language is the main form of expression of a culture, and the key to understanding that culture.
4. As constituent parts of the same nation and as legatees of our Western Civilization, English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians share a great deal in common in their national life. On the other hand these two main language groups have quite different cultural traditions reflected not only in language, but also in religion, education, politics and economics. In recent decades the proportion of persons in Canada speaking each of the two main languages as "mother tongue" has remained fairly constant. For the purpose of this inquiry, it is assumed that the two main language groups in Canada will continue to exist as constituent parts of the same nation. In the interests of national harmony and enriched cultural life for all

it is desirable to promote understanding and cooperation between the two groups, taking into consideration cultural contributions from other ethnic groups and suitable ways of preserving those contributions.

5. Equality of opportunity is a basic tenet of the democratic faith foundational to Canadian society. Thus there should be no discrimination on the basis of race, social class, or creed. Mutual understanding and cooperation between the two main language groups in our country are dependent on national recognition of the equality of status of the two "national" languages. Notwithstanding the special status of the English and French languages on the "national" level, for Canadians whose mother tongue is neither French nor English bilingualism and biculturalism on the regional scene represent a combination of one of the national languages and cultures with their respective mother tongue and culture. The objective must be prevention of all forms of unfair treatment and positive steps to promote opportunities for all citizens on an equitable basis.
6. The viewpoint taken in this submission is that knowledge of a second language can be a useful tool in understanding and appreciating differences in culture. Bilingual Canadians are perhaps best suited to understand and appreciate the cultural contributions of both the English- and the French-speaking Canadians to the cultural wealth of our nation. Hence the report is concerned mainly with the problems of communication and language.
7. The terms of reference of the Royal Commission are also concerned with the contributions made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. This report concludes that these contributions are worthwhile, and suggests how they might actively be encouraged.
8. The submission contains some specific proposals for promoting 'bilingualism,' in the interests of cultural understanding and harmonious relations, primarily among Canadians, but also in the wider human community. Nowhere

in this report is it suggested that all Canadians become 'bilingual.' It is felt that this might be an ideal towards which Canadians might aim. The choice should at all times be left to the individual. In the context of Canadian unity, the opportunity to reach this goal should be made available to those Canadians who desire it.

DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL SERVICE GRADUATE EMPLOYEES BY
UNIVERSITY OF FIRST DEGREE, SURVEY OF EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS,
October 1st, 1960⁽¹⁾

University	Number	Percentage of Total Graduates, All Universities
University of Toronto	1,441	15.2
University of British Columbia	728	7.7
University of Manitoba	636	6.7
McGill University	597	6.3
Université de Montréal	566	6.0
Queen's University	545	5.7
University of Saskatchewan	511	5.4
University of Alberta	442	4.7
Université Laval	420	4.4
University of Ottawa	379	4.0
University of Western Ontario	240	2.6
University of New Brunswick	239	2.5
Dalhousie University	202	2.1
Carleton University	156	1.6
McMaster University	111	1.2
Nova Scotia Technical College	111	1.2
Acadia University	103	1.1
St. Francis Xavier University	95	1.0
Mount Allison University	69	0.7
Sir George Williams College	66	0.7
St. Mary's University	40	0.4
Assumption University of Windsor	23	0.2
Université Saint-Joseph	21	0.2
St. Dunstan's University	17	0.2
Bishop's University	30	0.3
Other Canadian Universities	36	0.4
Total, Canadian Universities	7,824	82.5
United Kingdom Universities	285	3.0
United States Universities	156	1.6
Other Universities Outside Canada	406	4.3
University Not Known	818	8.6
Total, All Universities	9,489	100.0

(1) The figures reflect the number of graduates in those classes for which university graduation is considered to be either a necessary qualification or a factor of some significance. A small number of graduates employed in other classes have been excluded.

PART III
THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

9. The Royal Commission is "to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration--including Crown corporations--and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration." This subject will be approached in the following paragraphs from the point of view of faculty members at the University of Alberta who are teaching students whose future may lie in a career with the Federal Administration.

Albertans in the Federal Civil Service

10. Some appreciation of the impact of policy changes relating to bilingualism in the federal administration insofar as they affect Albertans, might be gained by examining statistics on Albertans in the Federal Civil Service. These have been provided by the Civil Service Commission, are the latest available, and do not include persons employed in Crown corporations and agencies:

- (a) 21,672 persons were in the employment of the Federal Government within Alberta as of September 1962.
- (b) 8,123 of the above were full-time civil service employees.
- (c) 442 graduates of the University of Alberta were employed in the Federal Civil Service to October 1, 1960, (See table opposite for a comparison with other Canadian universities).
- (d) These graduates constituted 4.7% of university graduates in the Federal Administration to October 1, 1960 (See table opposite).
- (e) The number of University of Alberta candidates for Public Administration and Foreign Service positions of recent date is as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Accepted</u>
1961-62	39	5
1962-63	54	6
1963-64	97	(competition not yet completed)

(f) The 54 students from the University of Alberta who wrote the 1962-63 Public Administration and Foreign Service examinations represented 15% of graduating students in the Faculties of Arts, Commerce and Law, compared to the national average of 9%. Other percentages were:

University of Manitoba	25.0%
McGill University	12.8%
University of Saskatchewan	10.4%
University of British Columbia	10.2%
Laval University	5.5%
University of Montreal	3.4%

(g) Candidates from the University of Alberta in other fields numbered:

	<u>1962-63</u>		<u>1961-62</u>	
	<u>Total No. Candidates</u>	<u>No. Accepted Employment</u>	<u>Total No. Candidates</u>	<u>No. Accepted Employment</u>
Biological Sciences	28	5	6	1
Physical Sciences	17	4	19	6
Engineering	No programme conducted due to austerity		80	10
Research Officers Agriculture	Competition not yet completed		22	1

11. From the foregoing, it is clear that recommendations on bilingualism in the Federal Administration, if implemented, will materially affect a substantial number of University of Alberta graduates and students.

The Federal Administration in Alberta

12. There have been complaints from French-speaking Albertans that they are compelled to conduct their business with the Federal Administration in Alberta in the English language. Although we are not in a position to judge the validity of

these complaints, it seems a logical extension of the bilingual guarantees of the British North America Act, that any citizen in any Province wishing to communicate with the Federal Administration in either French or English, may do so. If this is not possible, arrangements should be effected immediately to ensure bilingual communication with the Federal Administration in each Province as well as in Ottawa.

The Federal Administration in Canada

13. We accept the proposition that it is both necessary and desirable in the long term for persons in the Federal Administration and Crown corporations to speak both English and French. The precedent of bilingualism in the Federal Administration should serve as a catalyst to learning a second language, which is a worthwhile end in itself in the view of this university community. It will be observed, however, that this does not compel every Canadian to learn another language.
14. It is our understanding that a move in the direction of bilingualism has already been undertaken by the Civil Service Commission in a pilot project designed to teach French to selected Federal administrators of the officer class. In our opinion, this project should continue as circumstances permit and the Federal Administration in Alberta should be included as part of the scheme.
15. Those presently employed in the Federal Administration who are not bilingual should not be prejudiced by a change in policy. On the other hand, bilingualism would become an important although not overriding consideration in the employment of new persons. This presumes that educational opportunities will be provided for the learning of a second language. It is also appreciated that a truly bilingual Federal Administration will not and should not appear overnight, but develop over the next few decades.
16. In our opinion, the benefits to the Province of Alberta generally from a long range programme of bilingualism in the Federal Administration would extend far beyond the confines

of government and prove a positive influence on life in Alberta as a whole.

The Role of the University of Alberta

17. It follows that if the Federal Administration is to become gradually bilingual in character, it must be possible for individuals to acquire a facility with the second language. This can only come, in our opinion, through training which begins at the level of elementary education, if not earlier in the home. Our recommendations in this regard are to be found elsewhere in this Brief [see Part V].
18. Likewise on the university level, the prospective candidate for a career in the Federal Administration must be able to pursue a course of studies which permits him to develop bilingual abilities sufficient to meet his future responsibilities. In our opinion, this objective could best be achieved at the University of Alberta through the medium of an Institute of French-Canadian Studies recommended and outlined later in this Brief [see Part VII]. Similar institutes adapted to provincial conditions appear to us to be an excellent proposal for other Provinces as well.

Recommendations

- (1) That wherever there is a need for communication in both English and French, bilingualism be gradually expanded in the Federal Administration including Crown Corporations, taking into account the interests of persons now employed by the Federal Administration.
- (2) That the Federal Administration provide training programmes and incentives for those employed in the Federal Administration interested in voluntarily developing their bilingual capabilities.

PART IV

MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

19. In our century mass media have become a powerful force in the lives of both young and old. In Western Canada the organs of communication that reach large numbers have served to integrate the cultures and make English, beyond any doubt, the established language. Persons in the West who wish to develop or maintain skills, not only in English but in another language as well, find it hard to do so because practically all mass media are in English only. If French as a second "national" language or any other language is to remain vital for certain groups in our region, such groups need access to mass media in the language concerned.

Recommendations

- (3) That consideration be given to extending the existing French language radio and television networks to the rest of Canada.
- (4) That the French and English networks provide some interchange of programmes at prime hours.
- (5) That the French and English networks allow time for presentation of programmes relating to other language and ethnic groups.
- (6) That the National Film Board be encouraged to prepare films which present the cultural contributions and activities of the various ethnic groups in Canada.
- (7) That the Commission take cognizance of the establishment of such Canadian film companies as L'Association des Cinéastes and Crawley Films and that broad support, public or otherwise, where possible, be accorded the native film industry in order that Canadian films of both the English and French languages may be encouraged and widely disseminated.
- (8) That the Federal Government continue, through its appropriate departments and agencies, efforts to obtain a broader nation-wide distribution of National Film Board productions in both English and French. In those cases where there exists the possibility that certain trade practices restrict the distribution of such films, the Federal Department of Justice continue to examine the situation and to take such action as may be warranted.
- (9) That, while some of the daily newspapers are to be commended for such features as their extracts from the French Canadian press, all daily newspapers should be urged to move further along these lines, particularly:

- (a) To re-examine some of their interpretations of French Canadian developments, which in the past have frequently shown a lack of understanding. (This applies equally to some French newspapers regarding developments in English-speaking Canada);
- (b) To remove wherever possible, the petty annoyance of not using accents in the spelling of French names and words;
- (c) To urge its news-gathering medium, the Canadian Press, to supply its French-language members with copy in French.

PART V

TEACHING FRENCH IN THE SCHOOLS OF ALBERTA

20. Since World War II there has been a remarkable increase of interest in the study of French in the lower school grades in the Province of Alberta. According to a recent report pupil enrolments in French programs in the elementary and junior high schools of the Province are as follows:¹

Grade 1	239	Grade 4	9037	Grade 7	6110
Grade 2	248	Grade 5	4440	Grade 8	5958
Grade 3	408	Grade 6	2894	Grade 9	9041
				Total	38375

Local school authorities have been largely responsible for this increase in enrolments in French in the elementary schools of our Province. It is a manifestation in Alberta of the movement affecting practically all English-speaking areas of our continent (FLES-Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools).

21. The extension of second language programs to lower levels in the schools offers several possible advantages from the point of view of promoting bilingualism and biculturalism. One advantage that comes to mind is the value of early training in the development of audio-lingual skills. However, if the program is to have positive values in improved social attitudes and improved skills of communication, there must be concern for quality as well as quantity. According to a recent survey (See Appendix A: Report of N. M. Purvis) two main problems associated with the movement in our part of Canada are the shortage of qualified teachers and the lack of co-ordination in the programs. We need more teachers in our Alberta schools who have native or near-native skill in speaking French. The co-ordination of the French programs at the various levels from elementary school to university will also need serious consideration.

¹Mimeographed Report prepared by Curriculum Branch, Department of Education, Government of the Province of Alberta, October 1963. The enrolments are for the school year 1963-64.

22. French has always enjoyed considerable popularity as a second language option in the secondary schools of our Province. Most would agree that the French programs in our high schools have been hampered by a shortage of really qualified teachers. Furthermore, the curriculum and methods of instruction have often left much to be desired from the point of view of preparing young men and women for effective communication with French-speaking Canadians. It is regrettable that the external final examinations in French in our secondary schools take into account reading and writing skills only, with neglect of audio-lingual skills. In this connection we endorse the step recently taken by the High School and University Matriculation Examinations Board of our Province to study the feasibility of including an aural examination as part of the French 30 final examination.

23. In Western Canada we have lagged behind many other civilized areas of the world in the scope and quality of the language programs in our schools. Till now our programs have probably been no worse than those in the schools of neighboring states in the United States. Recent crash programs in the United States, which are designed to improve the teaching of languages in that country, are generously supported by funds from the Federal Government through the National Defence Education Act. There now appear to be good reasons why the Federal Government should consider appropriate ways to show interest in, and give financial support to, the teaching of languages as a means of promoting the national interest.

Recommendations

- (10) That increased educational opportunities commencing at the elementary school level be provided for the learning of English and French.
- (11) That steps be taken to increase the supply of qualified teachers of French in our elementary and secondary schools. The instruction should be offered only by qualified teachers with skill in speaking the language. In the French departments of our schools we should try to make more use of the services of qualified French-speaking Canadians. (Reciprocal measures should be taken in French-speaking parts of Canada).

- (12) That, in the programs of French in our schools, consideration be given to ways of improving co-ordination between different levels--elementary school, high school, and university.
- (13) That terminal examinations in modern languages in our secondary schools reflect more adequately the place of audio-lingual teaching in the language program.
- (14) That the Federal Government, in cooperation with Provincial Governments, consider appropriate ways of helping to improve French or English language instruction in our schools. The following projects might be sponsored and encouraged with financial help:
 - (a) Exchanges of teachers of French and English between French- and English-speaking areas of Canada with organization of a national agency to facilitate such exchanges.
 - (b) Establishment in Canada of a higher institute devoted to teaching and research in linguistic sciences and in methods of teaching second languages.
 - (c) Improved facilities and aids for modern language instruction in the schools.
- (15) That attempts be made by proper authorities to include in school curricula and texts reliable information about all ethnic groups and their contributions to Canadian life so as to dispel biases based on ignorance or distorted data.

PART VI

SOME POINTS OF VIEW

A. Confederation: An Interpretation

24. For a variety of reasons British North Americans never quite succeeded in subscribing to the 'melting pot' theory of assimilation. Provisions in both the Quebec Act (1774) and the Constitutional Act (1791) served to guarantee separate French Canadian development. Even the contrary assumptions made in the Durham Report (1839) and the Act of Union (1840) served only to enhance the determination of French Canadians to remain as they were and in fact most of the restrictions on the French Canadians embodied in the Act of Union had been reversed by 1848. This is not to suggest that English Canadians have always been especially understanding of their neighbours. In fact Upper Canada could usually have taken a lesson from Quebec in the matter of amiable acceptance of minority rights. In fact the difficulties of cooperation were among the causes for Confederation in 1867.
25. Concerning the British North America Act a few points might be made. First of all, it definitely assumed the continued co-existence of both groups in British North America, but the British North America Act is not a compact. It is a Statute of the Imperial Parliament, and no amount of wishful interpretation can produce a legal basis for a compact theory of Confederation.¹ In addition the Act offers only a few safeguards of bilingualism in Federal and Quebec Legislatures and Courts, plus certain provisions for religious minorities. Even the most ardent centralist, however, need refer only casually to the Confederation Debates to discover that the French had no intention of legislating themselves out of existence. In fact various debates suggest strongly that

¹N.M.L. Rogers, "The Compact Theory of Confederation," Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, III (1931), 205-230; and F. H. Underhill, The Massey Lectures, 1963 Toronto C.B.C., to be printed 1964.

the central government itself was seen as the guarantor of French Canadian rights, through the action (if necessary) of a powerful French Canadian delegation in Parliament and Cabinet. Cartier clearly thought that these, plus the division of provincial and federal powers, the continuance of the Imperial bond, and the introduction of an outside element from the Maritimes would serve to guarantee French Canadian rights for all time. His Rouge opposition was unconvinced, and predicted precisely the sort of loss of economic autonomy which is bothering Quebec today.

26. Confederation then, whatever the legal guarantee provided, was seen as a means whereby all of British North America might pursue common aims of survival and prosperity co-operatively, while maintaining a variety of independent and particular rights. It was for this dual purpose that a federal union was preferred to either separation or national union. These joint aims have not always been successfully pursued. But the ideal remains and may perhaps yet be achieved. In 1967 as in 1867 it may well be the province of the Federal Government to undertake the guarantees necessary to preserve this bicultural and bilingual ideal.
27. Incipient teachers (at all levels), officers of the armed forces, federal civil servants, lawyers, researchers, and executives in certain industries are all likely to have need for the two languages,--French and English. Certainly Canadian historians expect a knowledge of both languages by themselves, and by their students. The teaching of Canadian history at an advanced level is seriously hampered by a determined unilingualism on the part of the student. Meetings of the Canadian Historical Association, on the other hand, are simplified by the fact that most can understand, if not speak, both languages and that meetings can therefore be conducted in both languages without need for translations.
28. The ideal might be a bilingualism among those who need it, and an aware and sympathetic attitude on the part of the others. Both developments would need work. Education could

be carried on both formally in the schools, and informally in the information and entertainment media. Perhaps a crash programme not unlike those in the United States for the sciences, languages, and area studies, would provide the solution. And the United States example of federal financing may demonstrate the only way in which this can be carried out. Justice would be done, and it might be added that there is a survival value in variety; and in the flexibility which knowledge of more than one language and culture can give to the student.

29. The coincidence of the democratic revival in Quebec (1960) with a world-wide recognition of national, cultural, and lingual claims makes the consideration of the fullness of French Canadian claims a vital necessity at this point in history.
30. Deux nations culturally and lingually and une nation constitutionally and legally are not incompatible concepts. The latter may well be preserved only if the former is not claimed by just one province, but recognized and guaranteed by all of Canada.

B. Demographic Trends and Implications, with Special Reference to Mother Tongue Retention

Introduction

31. In this section we shall briefly consider the changing situation of non-French European minority groups in Canada as shown in the Dominion Census data available since the turn of the century but viewed in the context of the English Canadian and French Canadian groups. We shall restrict our consideration to the situation in Alberta, and in Canada as a whole. We shall consider the following variables: ethnic origins, including only selected major European groups, mother tongue, land of birth, rural-urban distribution.
32. We shall first present the data taken from the Census Reports, and shall then develop an argument based on these and the interrelationships between them which we have demonstrated.

Demographic Trends

33. Table I in Appendix B shows the growth and the changing ethnic composition of the Canadian and Albertan populations in terms of ethnic origins from 1901 to 1961. During this period the Canadian population increased from 5,371,315, to 18,238,247, an increase of 240%. The Albertan population increased from 65,876 to 1,331,944, an increase of 2000% approximately. The French portion of the population remained relatively constant in both Canada and Alberta during this period, the proportions being 30.7% in 1901 and 30.4% in 1961, and 6.6% in 1901 and 6.3% in 1961 for Canada and Alberta respectively. The United Kingdom origins proportion declined during this period in both Canada, and in Alberta, from 57% to 44% in Canada, and from 50% to 45% in Alberta. The Other European origins group almost doubled in Canada as a whole, increasing from 12.3% to 25.8%, and increasing from 43.9% to 48.5% in Alberta.
34. The Canadian population has increased more than threefold in the last sixty years, and the growth of Canadian population through immigration during the post World War II decades shows no sign of slackening. If one is to make decisions on the biculturalism-multiculturalism issue which will be valid in the foreseeable future for a rapidly growing and changing population it is important to try to anticipate the probable ethnic composition of the Canadian population at various future dates. Accordingly, a projection of the ethnic composition of the Canadian population was made through the year 2001. Population growth and changing ethnic composition are affected by very many factors, including the changing world economic situation, changing birth rates of various nationality groups, in their home lands and in Canada, and changing Canadian immigration policies, to name but a few. In the absence of facilities for making more technically precise projections, the average rate of changing proportions of the Canadian population of the various ethnic groups for the decades 1931 - 1941, 1941 - 1951, and 1951 - 1961, were taken as

the basis for making the projections of ethnic composition of the Canadian population in the years 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001, which are found in Table II in Appendix B. It should be noted that the procedure used is a crude and uncertain one, based primarily on the assumption that the complex of influences which have shaped the Canadian and Albertan population pictures during the last three decades will tend to hold during the next three or four decades as well.

35. For Canada as a whole, the projection suggests a continuing steady decline in the United Kingdom origins portion of the population, and a slow increase in the proportion which is French Canadian. Note that the latter presumes the continuation of the currently high birth rate of this group. The Other European group, the projection suggests, may be expected to increase to constitute almost one-third of the population by 2001. Essentially the same trends are anticipated for the Albertan population in the projection. The British portion may decline, at a slower rate perhaps to a little more than one-third by 2001, the French Canadian group may retain its relative size, and the Other European group may increase slowly from its current 44% to in excess of 50%.

36. In Table III is found the proportion of the population which claim English, French, and various Other European languages as mother tongue for the years 1921 through 1961, for Canada and for Alberta. For Canada as a whole, whereas we have noted that the English origins proportion of the population is declining and the Other European origins proportion is increasing, the reverse is true in terms of mother tongue. Since 1931, the proportion claiming English as mother tongue is increasing slightly, and, despite the heavy post World War II Other European migration, the proportion claiming Other European languages as mother tongue appears to be shrinking slightly rather than growing. This same trend is much more sharply apparent in the Alberta data. If we leave out the influence of the heavy immigration of the 1920's, we find that the proportion of Albertans claiming English as mother tongue increased slightly between 1931 and 1961

although the English origins group declined 8% during that period. Those claiming Other European mother tongue declined from 30% to 22% between 1931 and 1961, although those of Other origins European/increased their numbers by 6% during this period.

37. The trends suggested here are shown more clearly in Table IV which shows the proportions of people classified by ethnic origin who yet claim the language of their country of origin as a mother tongue, for the years 1931 to 1961 for Canada and for Alberta.¹ For Canada, the proportion of Other Europeans claiming the language of their country of origin as their mother tongue declines from 71.6% to 52.5%, and for Alberta the proportion declines from 77.6% to 48.8%. If we use the same procedures described above to extrapolate to the year 2001, we find that perhaps only 27% of Canadians of Other European origins may yet claim as mother tongue the language of their country of origin. The comparable figure for Alberta may be around 10%. Note too, that although the prospects, given present trends, are that the French Canadian population in Canada as a whole will retain their French facility, this is not true in Alberta where the proportion of French-speaking French Canadians has declined from 73.4% in 1931 to 50.7% in 1961. The projection suggests that if present trends continue, by 2001, only about 20% of Albertan French Canadians will yet speak French.

38. The picture is sharpened further by the data presented in Table V which shows the proportions of Canadian born people who trace their ancestry from various European countries who yet claim the language of that country as a mother tongue. The figures show for Canada as a whole, high rates of mother tongue retention by English and French background people. However, the figures for Other European groups show (1) steady and very rapid loss of mother tongue by old migrant groups which did not contribute heavily to the post World War II migration; (2) rapid loss of mother tongue by other groups

¹The relevant data are not available in published census data before 1931.

from 1931 to 1951, following which the arrival of large numbers of recent new Canadians who yet speak their European mother tongues in their homes, has raised the proportion of Canadian born who can speak the language of their country of ancestry. The picture for Alberta is virtually identical with that for Canada as a whole, except that the French portion of the population is losing its mother tongue more rapidly than is the French Canadian population as whole. It should be remarked, that since the heavy migration of the last two decades cannot be expected to last indefinitely, the figures in Table V do afford a good indication of the rate at which the children and grandchildren of immigrants may be expected to lose their non-English mother tongue, in all probability.

39. In Tables VI and VII are shown the foreign born portion of the population classified by ethnic origins for Canada and for Alberta, for the years 1921 through 1961. This foreign born portion is shown as a percentage of the total Canadian population in Table VI and as a proportion of the total foreign born portion of the Canadian population in Table VII. These figures show, for Canada and for Alberta, again in contrast to the high and growing proportions of French speaking and English speaking Canadians, shown in Tables IV, V, and VI, that it is the Other European group which constitutes the bulk; 49% of the foreign born Canadians and 51% in Alberta in 1961. The trend from 1921 to 1961 shows that in Canada and Alberta the French have remained a constant, small minority of the foreign born group. In Canada the English foreign born have declined in magnitude, from 64% of the total foreign born in 1921, to 34% in 1961. The corresponding figures for Alberta are from 57% to 26%. The Other European foreign born, on the other hand, have increased during the same period from 32% to 49% in Canada, and from 39% to 51% in Alberta.

40. Table VIII shows the rural urban distribution of the Canadian and Albertan populations by ethnic origin, for the years 1901 through 1961. These tables show, for both Alberta and for Canada as a whole, a precipitous decline in the

proportion of the population classified as rural; from 62.5% to 30.4% for Canada, and from 74.6% to 36.7% for Alberta. Note that for Canada it is the British origins group which has seen the slightest shift from rural to urban, both absolutely and proportionately, and the Other European origins group which has seen the greatest shift from rural to urban, the percentages being 58.2% to 28.8% and 69.3% to 29.7% respectively. In Alberta it is the French origins group which has been least attracted to cities, but again it is the Other European group which, proportionately speaking has been most attracted to the city, the percentages being from 75.7% to 43.4% and 85.1% to 41.0% for these two groups.

41. It has been the rural block settlement pattern which has been responsible for the vigorous survival of fluency in the mother tongue for many European migrant groups: the large and heavy Ukrainian block settlement area to the East and Northeast of Edmonton Alberta is a prime example of this. However, the tables imply the speed with which these rural communities where bilingual fluency (in the mother tongue and English in most cases, although there are a number of mother tongue and French communities in Quebec Province) was fostered among the second generation, are breaking up. Moreover, a study of Ukrainian adjustment in Alberta which is being carried on by the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta, demonstrates that it is the younger generation which most frequently deserts the rural areas. In a 100% sampling of Ukrainian and mixed Ukrainian families in the villages of Willingdon, Thorhild and Lamont and on the farms within seven miles of these towns, instead of the 175 young men and women between the ages of 17 and 26 whom we hoped to include in our sample, only 73 in all could be found. Thus it seems clear that it is the younger generation who have the least vested interest in retaining their mother tongue, and who are moving to urban areas where retention of mother tongue is more difficult.

Interrelationships between Variables and Discussion

42. In this section we shall demonstrate some interrelationships between various of the data cited above. In general, our interest is to investigate what factors may be associated with the tendency to lose or to retain as mother tongue the language of the country of origin. Accordingly we shall report on the interrelationships between proportion of the ethnic group which is Canadian born, rural-urban distribution of the group, and proportion speaking the language of the country of origin as mother tongue.
43. The relationships between these factors are rather clearly revealed in Charts 1 through 16, which show for French, for total Other European, and for various specific other European groups, the relationships between the proportion of each group which is not Canadian born, the proportion which is rural resident, and the proportion of each group which is yet able to speak the language of the country of origin as mother tongue.¹ The Chart suggests a clear relationship between these three factors for both the Canadian and the Albertan data. In virtually all the cases, the slope of the graph line indicating the proportion of the Canadian born members of each ethnic group which can yet speak the language of their country of ancestry, appears to be a function of the graph line indicating the proportion of ethnic group which is foreign born and the proportion of the group which resides in rural area. Where both of the latter graph lines slope down, the former graph line tends to slope more steeply than either. Where one of the latter lines slopes down and the other slopes up, the line indicating the proportion of the Canadian born members of each ethnic group which can yet speak the language of their country of ancestry, appears to move at an angle which compromises the other two.

¹The proportions of Canadian born who speak a non-English mother tongue for 1961 which are shown in these charts, are questionable since the 1961 Census does not publish this figure, and so it was necessary to estimate these figures on the basis of other published data.

Implications

44. It is apparent from the preceding section that there are significant relationships between the proportion of an ethnic group who are foreign born and the proportion who are rural resident and the proportion who yet speak a non-English or non-French mother tongue. In view of the inevitable eventual tapering off of sizeable immigration into Canada as the country fills up, and in view of the increasing proportion of the population which is urban, it is clear that the incidence of Canadian facility in Other European tongues will tend in time to wane and die out if present trends continue. On the other hand the proportion which is English-speaking is steadily increasing, and with the eventual tapering off of immigration and growing proportion of the urban population, the spreading of English facility will increase in speed.
45. Thus, it seems certain that there is little cause for concern in regard to the English-speaking adjustment of immigrants. However, it is the thesis of this section of our report that the loss of facility in Other European languages by Canadians is to be deplored, and that in fact counter steps should be taken to halt, and if possible to reverse this trend of loss of ability to speak these languages. The argument may be summarized as follows:
- (a) It is perfectly possible to train large numbers of people to be bilingual or even tri-lingual, as the experience of a number of European areas, such as Alsace-Lorraine and parts of Switzerland demonstrates.
 - (b) The increase in commercial, cultural, and tourist dealings of Canada with Russia, Italy, Germany, France, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe, may both be anticipated and hoped for.
 - (c) These dealings will take place more smoothly, and will be facilitated and increased in significance in so far as there are sizeable pools of bilingual Canadians who are able to speak with ease and fluency the language of these countries as well as

French or English.

- (d) The internationalization of the scientific enterprise increasingly calls for people able to read the scientific journals of other countries. Thus, the cause of Canadian science and scholarship in general will be advanced in so far as a higher proportion of Canadian scientists and scholars are equally fluent in English or French and an Other European language.
- (e) The cause of world peace demands an increase in understanding among the various nations of the world. One of the ways of increasing that understanding at the grass roots, and commercial, and governmental-military levels, is for larger proportions of the world's populations to be able to talk with ease and precision to other peoples in their native tongue. Canada may be able to play a very important role in furtherance of world peace by facilitating greater understanding between North America and Europe (including England and France, and other European countries), and the USSR, by having a large proportion of bilingual people.

C. The British Ethnic Group

- 45. In the 1961 Dominion Census slightly less than half (45.2 per cent) of the people of Alberta reported their ethnic origin as British. It may be assumed that practically all of those in the British group reported English as their mother tongue, and in fact speak only English. The views of this large group with respect to problems of language and culture in Western Canada are probably quite varied and would show a wide range. Nevertheless there appear to be some general ideas held in common by most of the members of this group. They would point out that English is the dominant and pervasive language in the West, and they consider it is quite satisfactory and indeed necessary as a language

medium for participation in the economic, social and cultural life of the Western Provinces. They would ask this question: Is it practical for large numbers of Albertans to learn French for the remote possibility they may need it later on? In the attitude of many Western Canadians, including those of British stock, there is a spirit of independence which views with some reserve, and possibly some resentment, certain things which come out of "Eastern Canada." Any suggestion of force or ultimatum imposed by the East on the West, whether real or imaginary, will foster among Westerners an in-group feeling and put them in a defensive posture.

46. People in the far Western Provinces are geographically far removed from the Province of Quebec and most feel culturally far removed also. Consider for a moment what is likely to happen when on a rare occasion an English-speaking monoglot from the West comes into direct contact with les Canadiens of Quebec province. Perhaps our Albertan has an opportunity to attend a convention in Quebec city. Uncomfortably aware of his own deficiencies in Canada's other "national" language he may feel a certain uneasiness at the prospect of a visit to French Canada. In preparation he may try to review parts of an old French grammar text or listen to a recording in French. With what result? In Quebec city the chauffeur de taxi dismisses his faltering words of French and brusquely switches to a firm English which leaves the Westerner wondering if he has made a fool of himself. He quickly discovers too that his untrained ear cannot cope with the rapid stream of French which he hears in conversations and speeches. Such experiences may or may not convert the Westerner to a cause of bilingualism. For Albertans of British ethnic origin, and of all other ethnic origins except French, the problem remains: Is it practical to go to the trouble of learning French for the infrequent occasions when skill in the use of the language is useful or necessary?

47. Although showing some confusion concerning the purposes of a Federal Commission on "bilingualism and biculturalism,"

most Albertans do not consider themselves as "anti-French." In fact, an increasingly large proportion of the British group are ready to concede that Western Canadians should give greater recognition to "le fait français au Canada," that there should be fewer restrictions placed on the French group in their efforts to provide education-in-French for their young people, and that the French courses offered in the schools to English Canadians have been for a long time "too late, too little, and too bookish." There are signs that the British group in Alberta, which in times past, e.g., during the Territorial period, showed fairly strong "anti-French" feeling and sought to limit rather sharply opportunities for education-in-French in the West, are now willing to consider granting wider opportunities for both French and British groups to learn French in the schools.

D. The French Ethnic Group

Viewpoint of the French Canadian in Alberta, and Canada

48. The French Canadian in Alberta considers himself as part of the larger French group of Canada, and a member of one of the groups which founded this country. By his family ties and heritage he is strongly attached to the province of Quebec. He is also an Albertan, and wishes to be considered as such.
49. The problems he faces in the province of Alberta are similar to the problems faced by his fellow French Canadians in all the provinces outside Quebec, namely, maintenance of his language and culture.
50. Figures for ethnic groups indicate that for the French group in Alberta, from 1921 to 1961, there has been an increase from 5.3% to 6.3% of Alberta's total population. In the last forty years, the increase in population of the French group from 30,913 in 1921 to 83,319 in 1961, shows an increase of 270%. On the other hand, figures for "retention of mother tongue" show a drop from 70.3% to 50.73% in the last forty years.
51. The apparent loss of "mother tongue" has been to a large degree offset by the number of Albertans who are bilingual.

Figures reveal that 56,920 persons in Alberta speak both French and English. It must be noted that this figure does not take into account a great many people of other ethnic origins who can speak French as a third language, and those who, although they can speak French, do not consider themselves "bilingual." Nor does it reveal the number of Albertans who can understand written French. The value of the French language in Alberta cannot and must not solely be related to the French ethnic group.

52. An indication of this is reflected by figures shown in the Report of a Survey of French in Alberta Schools (Grades I to IX), September 1963, prepared by the Department of Education, where school systems have "elected" to offer elementary and junior high French courses. 38,375 school children, who are not French, are learning the language. This report indicates that 16% of all pupils in grades 4, 5, and 6 and 27% of all students in the Junior High Schools, are taking some French.
53. These figures reveal that in Alberta there is a growing demand for French, and that this demand comes directly from the public, because only in the High Schools is French a compulsory subject for matriculation (as an elective). Figures for 1962-63 show that out of a total of 52,088 students enrolled in Grades 10, 11 and 12, 33,131 were taking French. Many of these students could have elected to take some other language or some other course. These figures show that 63.6% of Alberta High School students are studying French.
54. With due respect for opinions voiced to the contrary, these figures seem to indicate that the public at large is conscious of the value of French as a language. The public is also conscious of the French fact in Canada and is doing something to advance the cause of Canadian unity.
55. The greatest problem faced by the French group of Alberta is that of cultural isolation. French immigrants and French Canadians from Quebec are reluctant to settle outside Quebec because of the obstacles which they must overcome if they are

to maintain their French identity.

56. The maintenance of this French identity does not mean that these French Canadians will refuse to learn English. It means that they must become bilingual. In the process, they become closely integrated with the "milieu" in which they are living, and quickly become so identified with it, that only their name might reveal their ethnic background. If, in this milieu, they are unable to use their language, they are apt to lose it. The opposite does not hold for the English-speaking student who feels perfectly secure in his own environment with respect to English, and for whom French is a second language. (It must be understood here that this applies mostly to children who are conscious of group pressures.)
57. The French Canadian group in Alberta would welcome any legislation which would allow them more use of their language in school subjects. It is believed that if one or two other subjects could be taught in French, and repeated in English, or taught in English and reviewed in French, their children would become more thoroughly bilingual, and they would develop for French a love and understanding which is lacking at present. In many cases children feel that French is an extra burden.
58. Initial attempts to secure French Radio Stations beamed to a Western audience met with considerable opposition, and did not receive financial assistance from governmental sources. Those stations that were built were financed by private subscriptions. Subsequent experience has shown that French Radio Stations in the West can command sufficient revenue to be self-sustaining. But other cultural ties between Quebec and the rest of Canada are required in order to facilitate the learning of French, both by French Canadians and others interested, in using the French language. These ties can be established and maintained through mass media of communication, press, radio, and television. A major concern of French Canadians in the West is the establishment of a

cross-Canada French T.V. network which would parallel the C.B.C. The initial costs required should be borne by the Federal Government and subsequently the two networks should receive adequate financial support.

59. A French network would ensure the following:
- (a) It would give Canadians in Quebec a national field for cultural expansion and expression.
 - (b) It would partly solve the problem of cultural isolationism in which the French minority groups outside Quebec exist.
 - (c) It would help maintain a living French language in the homes of French Canadians.
 - (d) It would make available for all the English-speaking Canadians who so wish, a means of enjoying the French they have learned and at the same time bring them into contact with another form of Canadian expression of Canadian culture.
 - (e) It would also, with the cooperation of the groups concerned, allow for some programs which would present the contributions of other cultural groups to the Canadian scene. This is already done by the Western French Radio stations, with considerable appreciation by these groups. This would tend to make the new Canadians feel at home and part of the greater Canadian picture, in a creative and active way.

E. The Non-British and Non-French Ethnic Groups

A Note on the Place of Ethnic Groups Other Than British And French in the Context of Bilingualism and Biculturalism
With Special Reference to the Prairie Provinces

Approaches to the Problem

60. In assessing the place of ethnic groups other than British or French in the context of bilingualism and biculturalism, a distinction between the nation-wide and the regional situations and interpretations of the latter becomes necessary, in view of the varying numerical weight of the individual ethnic groups in several regions of Canada, the different

history of settlement and development of such regions, and the operation of the Canadian federal system.

61. At the federal level there can be no other feasible solution acceptable to both major ethnic groups than an English-French bilingualism and--essentially but not exclusively--biculturalism in the make-up and operation of the federal government and those institutions, public and private, which serve the country as a whole. From the viewpoint of the other ethnic groups there can be no justifiable objection to bilingualism on the federal level. On the other hand, should the formulas of "equal partnership" and "essential biculturalism" be given an interpretation of either an exclusively British-French make-up of the federal civil service, to the exclusion of or discrimination against representatives of other ethnic groups, such an interpretation would inevitably collide both with the principles of equality of opportunity for all Canadians and with the operation of the merit system in the civil service.
62. At the regional level and, more specifically, in the three prairie provinces, the ethnic and linguistic make-up of the population does not make an automatic application of the federal formula either feasible or acceptable in view of the multi-ethnic nature of the region and the relative numerical weakness of the French group as against German or Ukrainian groups. In the special circumstances of Western Canada, the concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism have assumed different forms. They represent a combination of the major language of the region--English--with the languages and cultural backgrounds of the several ethnic groups inhabiting the prairie provinces, producing English-German, English-Ukrainian, English-French, English-Scandinavian (etc.) variations. As far as the non-British ethnic groups in this region are concerned, these types of bilingualism and, to a somewhat lesser extent, biculturalism, have become the established patterns which cannot be reversed except at the price of sacrificing the principles of citizens' equality and of the

democratic process. While the learning of the French language by the non-British and non-French groups should be encouraged, trilingualism could hardly be expected to become a general phenomenon in this region.

Assumptions

63. It is assumed that the knowledge of one or two languages, other than one's own, is preferable to monolingualism, even from the narrower viewpoint of learning to know one's own language better. It is, moreover, assumed that cultural pluralism, involving the co-existence, inter-action, and sharing of either two or more cultures--besides being a fact of life in Canada--is a desirable phenomenon in itself as it (a) essentially contributes to a distinctive national character of Canada; (b) allows for the mutual enrichment of several cultural strains in the evolvement of a common Canadian culture; (c) creates conditions for a wider and more direct participation of Canadians in cultural activities; (d) helps to exploit the unique linguistic wealth inherent in the multi-ethnic population of Canada, for the sake of the special role of Canada in international affairs, the role of an interpreter, mediator, and peacemaker; (e) contributes to the development among Canadians of a more "ecumenical," more tolerant and informed attitude towards international affairs, and towards the countries and cultures or origin of their fellow-citizens.
64. The safeguarding of cultural heritages of other ethnic groups cannot be considered in separation from the question of language. Language represents an important element in the cultivation and, especially, in the continuation of a culture and, moreover, it plays an important role in the preservation of religious identity or of the distinctive rite of some ethnic groups in Canada.
65. Proceeding from these assumptions and, accordingly, denying the desirability of a single or dual melting-pot in which Canadians of the non-British and non-French origin were to lose their cultural heritage, it is desirable to go beyond

mere declarations in affirming the right of Canadians to preserve in a living form their respective cultural heritage.

Recommendations

- (16) That consideration be given to the offering in schools, of languages of other ethnic groups wherever there is a request for them on the part of parents and whenever it is feasible in terms of the number of students involved.
- (17) That a division of labour should be agreed upon among the leading Canadian universities in developing at certain universities comprehensive programs of study of the language, culture and history of the individual ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian life.
- (18) That whenever public support is provided for Canadian cultural and artistic institutions and activities, it not be restricted to the two major ethnic groups alone, but be extended also to the institutions representative of the best cultural achievements of other ethnic groups.

PART VII

SOME GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- (19) That institutes be created in each province, preferably within the structure of a provincial university, for the continuation of an interchange of ideas on bilingual and bicultural matters, such institutes taking the form best adapted to local and national needs.

In English-language universities these institutes may adopt such measures as:

- (a) Stimulation and co-ordination of library acquisitions in the field of published works and periodicals of French Canada and concerning French Canada.
 - (b) Arrangement of exchanges of staff and students between English-language and French-language Canadian Universities.
 - (c) Establishment of a Chair of French Canadian literature.
 - (d) Encouragement of graduate work in French Canadian studies in appropriate departments.
 - (e) Encouragement of the offering of regular courses in French by various departments making it possible for a student to take a part of his studies in that language.
 - (f) Active liaison from the institute to the community through the sponsoring of conferences and public lectures on bilingualism and biculturalism and related matters.
 - (g) Creation of opportunities for inter-group programs involving English- and French-speaking Canadians in common efforts.
- (20) That a national conference or council be formed as early as possible to organize and support on a continuing basis the study of the problems of bilingualism, biculturalism, and the cultural problems of the non-British and non-French ethnic groups. Representative of the ethnic components of Canadian people and endowed with funds necessary for the exercise of its functions, such a body should advise the government and the public at large of its findings and recommendations.
- (21) That symbolic recognition be granted from time to time by the governmental agencies and other public bodies to the presence in Canada and to the cultural contribution of the many ethnic groups, through postage stamps, geographical names, naming of streets, etc.
- (22) That Canadian universities should seriously examine the question whether and to what extent all their students are given adequate opportunities to study and gain a better understanding of the vast problems connected with the structure of Canadian society in general and bilingualism and biculturalism in particular. That whenever the answer is not fully positive, they should take steps for the introduction of the necessary programs.

APPENDIX A

RELEVANT RESEARCH COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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RELEVANT RESEARCH COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Education

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|------------------------|---|
| Sr. Dominique-De-Marie | "An Investigation of the Teaching of French to English-Speaking Pupils of Grades 1 to 8 of Alberta and Saskatchewan Schools" (M.Ed.), 1962. |
| R. A. Lambert | "An Experimental Comparison of Two Methods of Teaching French to Non-French Students at the Grade Ten Level" (M.Ed.), 1959. |
| P. A. Lamoureux | "The Application of Linguistics to the Teaching of French in Grade X" (M.Ed.), 1964. |
| N. M. Purvis | "A Survey of Second Language Programs for English-Speaking Children in Grades One Through Nine in Canadian Schools" (M.Ed.), 1961. |
| Sr. Simon-Hermann | "A Report on an Applied Linguistics Method Used to Improve the Spoken French of French-Speaking Students at the Grade Seven Level" (M.Ed.), 1962. |
| J. Skwarok | "The Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools (With Reference to Government, French-Canadian and Ukrainian Missionary Influences) 1891-1921" (M.Ed.), 1958. |
| Sr. St. Sylva | "An Investigation of the Teaching of French in the Bilingual Schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan" (M.Ed.), 1960. |
| Sr. Ste. Theresia | "An Experimental Study of Achievement in French Language by Non-French Pupils of Grades Four and Seven in Selected Alberta Schools" (M.Ed.), 1963. |
| D. M. Sullivan | "An Investigation of the English Disabilities of Ukrainian and Polish Students in Grades IX, X, XI, XII of Alberta Schools" (M.Ed.), 1946. |
| R. C. Weldon | "A Comparison of French-Speaking and Non-French-Speaking Students in High School French" (M.Ed.), 1947. |

Geography

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| Virginia Hull | "Rural Land Use and Landscape Patterns as Influenced by Ethnic Groups in the Census District Surrounding Edmonton" (M.A.), 1963. |
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- Wayne Moodie "Historical Geography of St. Albert" (M.A.), 1964.
- History
- William P. Baergen "The Fur Trade Posts of Lesser Slave Lake" (M.A.), 1965.
- Clifford G. Edwards "The Work of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Western Canada" (M.A.), 1965.
- John E. Foster "The Red River Colony and the Protestant Clergy" (M.A.), 1965.
- Eric J. Holmgren "The Barr Colony" (M.A.), 1964.
- Miss I. Loggie "The Importance of the Peace River and Valley in the History of the Peace River Country to 1908" (M.A.), 1964.
- Aron Sawatzky "The Mennonites and Their Assimilation in Alberta" (M.A.), 1964.
- James Parker "The Fur Trade at Fort Chippewayan: 1800-1830" (M.A.), 1965.
- Yves-François Zoltvany "Biography of Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France" (Ph.D.), 1963.
- Linguistics
- Neville Lincoln "Phonology of the Métis French Dialect of Saint-Paul, Alberta" (M.A.), 1963.
- Sociology
- Mr. and Mrs. I. Sperber "Eskimo, French, Indian and Anglican Cultures: A Study in Assimilation and Discrimination in an Urban Area," 1964.
- T. Borheck, C. Hobart, P. Jacoby, W. Kalbach "Ukrainian Adjustment in Alberta," 1966.
- Charles Brant "A Study of a Contemporary Indian Reserve Community," 1966.
- B. Y. Card, G. Hirabayashi, C. L. French "The Métis in Alberta Society," 1963.
- G. Hirabayashi "Urban Adjustment of Indians in Edmonton," 1964.
- C. Hobart "Consequences of the Federal Education Program for Eskimos," 1965.
- Myrna Gale Costanzo, Robert George Morrow "Survey of Attitudes Towards Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Calgary " (Attitudes of five groups of 50 people--professional, university students, high school students, working people who completed high school, working people who did not complete high school--divided by sex), 1964.

- Jacqueline Harvie "An Analysis of the Treatment in Mass Media of the Bicultural Question" (Canada with special reference to Alberta), 1964.
- Frank G. Vallee,
Mildred A. Schwartz,
Frank Darknell "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 23, pp. 540-549, November, 1957.
- Frank G. Vallee,
Mildred A. Schwartz "Report on Criminality Among the Foreign Born in Canada," in Bernard Blishen, et al., Canadian Society, New York: Free Press, pp. 560-567, 1961.
- Mildred A. Schwartz "Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin," in John Meisel, editor, Papers on the Canadian General Election of 1962, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. In press.
- Henry Zentner "Parental Behavior and Student Attitudes Towards High School Graduation Among Indian and Non-Indian Students in Oregon and Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 211-219, December, 1962.
- Henry Zentner "Parental Behavior and Student Attitudes Towards Further Training Among Indian and Non-Indian Students in Oregon and Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 22-30, March, 1963.
- Henry Zentner "Cultural Assimilation Between Indians and Non-Indians in Southern Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 79-86, June, 1963.
- Henry Zentner "Value Congruence Among Indian and Non-Indian High School Students in Southern Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 168-178, September, 1963.
- Henry Zentner "Factors in the Social Pathology in a North American Indian Society," Anthropologica, New Series, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 119-130, 1963.
- Henry Zentner "Durkheim, Mental Health and Religious Socialization," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, pp. 92-107, Winter, 1964.
- Mildred A. Schwartz "The Development of Canadian National Identity," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, Autumn, 1964.
- Henry Zentner "Reference Group Behavior Among High School Students," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Forthcoming.

Henry Zentner

"Adolescent Society in Southern Alberta," a study in progress which among other things will compare the attitudes and values respecting academic achievement of students attending both public and separate high schools in the city of Calgary, Autumn, 1966.

Henry Zentner,
Marlene Mackie

"The Defector from the Hutterite Colony: A Pilot Study," an M.A. thesis in progress which will enquire into the process of defection from Hutterite Colonies and the problems of adjustment to the larger society posed by such defection, Autumn, 1964.

APPENDIX B

TABLES AND CHARTS

TABLE 1
POPULATION OF CANADA AND OF ALBERTA BY SELECTED ORIGINS, 1901 - 1961

	1961		1951		1941		1931		1921		1911		1901	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
CANADA	18,238,247	100	14,009,429	100	11,506,655	100	10,376,786	100	8,787,949	100	7,206,643	100	5,371,315	100
BRITISH	7,996,669	43.8	6,709,685	47.9	5,715,904	49.7	5,381,071	51.9	4,868,738	55.4	3,999,081	55.5	3,063,195	57.0
FRENCH	5,540,346	30.4	4,319,167	30.8	3,483,038	30.3	2,927,990	28.2	2,452,743	27.9	2,061,719	28.6	1,649,371	30.7
OTHER EUROPEAN	4,116,849	23.6	2,508,722	18.3	2,043,926	17.7	1,825,252	17.6	1,247,103	14.2	944,783	13.1	457,956	8.5
GERMAN	1,049,599	5.8	619,995	4.4	464,682	4.0	473,544	4.6	294,635	3.4	403,417	5.6	310,501	5.8
UKRAINIAN	473,337	2.6	395,043	2.8	305,929	2.7	255,113	2.2	106,721	1.2	75,432	1.0	5,682	0.1
SCANDINAVIAN	386,534	2.1	283,024	2.0	244,603	2.1	228,049	2.2	167,359	1.9	112,682	1.6	31,042	0.6
NETHERLANDS	429,679	2.4	264,267	1.8	212,863	1.8	148,962	1.4	117,505	1.3	55,961	0.8	33,845	0.6
POLISH	323,517	1.8	219,845	1.6	167,485	1.5	145,503	1.4	53,403	0.6	33,652	0.5	6,285	0.1
JEWISH	173,344	1.0	181,670	1.3	170,241	1.5	156,726	1.5	126,196	1.4	76,199	1.1	16,131	0.3
ITALIAN	450,351	2.5	152,245	1.1	112,625	1.0	98,173	0.9	66,769	0.8	45,963	0.6	10,834	0.2
RUSSIAN	119,168	0.7	91,279	0.7	83,708	0.7	88,148	0.8	100,064	1.1	44,376	0.6	19,825	0.4
ALBERTA	1,331,944	100	939,501	100	796,169	100	731,605	100	588,454	100	374,663	100	65,876	100
BRITISH	601,755	45.2	451,709	48.1	399,432	50.17	389,238	53.20	351,820	59.8	192,698	51.4	32,639	49.5
FRENCH	83,319	6.3	56,185	6.0	42,979	5.40	38,377	5.24	30,913	5.3	19,825	5.3	4,348	6.6
OTHER EUROPEAN	590,762	44.4	388,728	41.4	326,883	41.1	282,271	38.6	183,545	31.2	120,084	30.2	19,606	26.8
GERMAN	183,314	13.8	107,985	11.5	77,721	9.76	74,450	10.18	35,333	6.0	36,862	9.8	7,694	11.7
UKRAINIAN	105,923	8.0	86,957	9.3	71,868	9.03	55,872	7.64	23,827	4.0	28,047	7.5	3,904	5.9
SCANDINAVIAN	95,879	7.2	70,929	7.5	63,494	7.97	59,461	8.13	44,545	7.6	2,951	0.8	361	0.5
NETHERLANDS	55,530	4.2	29,385	3.1	20,429	2.56	13,665	1.88	9,490	1.6	2,243	0.6		
POLISH	40,539	3.0	29,661	3.2	26,845	3.37	21,157	2.89	7,172	1.2	1,486	0.4	17	0.03
JEWISH	4,353	0.3	3,935	0.4	4,164	0.52	3,722	0.51	3,242	0.6				
ITALIAN	15,025	1.1	5,996	0.6	4,872	0.61	4,766	0.65	4,028	0.7	2,139	0.6	109	0.2
RUSSIAN	17,952	1.3	15,353	1.6	19,316	2.43	16,381	2.24	21,212	3.6	9,421	2.5	5,212	8.4
DANISH														
ICELANDIC														
NORWEGIAN														
SWEDISH														

TABLE 2 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF POPULATIONS OF CANADA AND OF ALBERTA, BY SELECTED ORIGINS

WITH PROJECTIONS FOR 1971, 1981, 1991, AND 2001

ETHNIC GROUP	CANADA										PROJECTIONS		
	1901 %	1911 %	1921 %	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 %	AVERAGE CHANGE/DECADE		1981 %	1991 %	2001 %	
								1931-61	1971 %				
BRITISH	57.0	55.5	55.4	51.9	49.7	47.9	43.8	-2.70	41.1	38.4	35.7	33.0	
FRENCH	30.7	28.6	27.9	28.2	30.3	30.8	30.4	+0.73	31.1	31.9	32.6	33.3	
OTHER EUROPEAN	8.5	13.1	14.2	17.6	17.7	18.3	23.6	+2.00	25.6	27.6	29.6	31.6	
GERMAN	5.8	5.6	3.4	4.6	4.0	4.4	5.8	+0.40					
ITALIAN	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	2.5	+0.53					
NETHERLANDS	0.6	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.8	1.9	2.4	+0.33					
POLISH	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.8	+0.13					
SCANDINAVIAN	0.6	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.1	-0.03					
UKRAINIAN	0.1	1.0	1.2	2.2	2.7	2.8	2.6	+0.13					
OTHER	1.1	3.0	5.0	4.9	4.6	3.5	6.4	+0.50					
ALBERTA													
BRITISH	49.5	51.4	59.8	53.20	50.17	48.1	45.2	-2.67	42.53	39.86	37.19	34.52	
FRENCH	6.6	5.3	5.3	5.24	5.40	6.0	6.3	+0.35	6.65	7.00	7.35	7.70	
OTHER EUROPEAN	26.83	30.22	31.15	38.58	41.05	41.38	44.35	+1.92	46.27	48.19	50.11	52.03	
GERMAN	11.7	9.8	6.0	10.18	9.76	11.5	13.8	+1.24					
ITALIAN	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.65	0.61	0.6	1.1	+0.15					
NETHERLANDS	0.5	0.8	1.6	1.88	2.56	3.1	4.2	+0.77					
POLISH	0.64	0.6	1.2	2.89	3.37	3.2	3.0	+0.04					
SCANDINAVIAN	5.9	7.5	7.6	8.13	7.97	7.5	7.2	-0.31					
UKRAINIAN	0.86	4.69	4.0	7.64	9.03	9.3	8.0	+0.13					

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF CANADA AND OF ALBERTA, TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
WHICH SPEAK SELECTED MOTHER TONGUES, 1921 - 1961

CANADA					
ETHNIC GROUP	1921 %	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 %
ENGLISH	62.15	57.0	56.4	59.1	58.5
FRENCH	26.64	27.3	29.2	29.0	28.1
OTHER EUROPEAN	10.20	12.60	12.50	10.19	11.83
GERMAN	2.98	3.48	2.8	2.4	3.1
ITALIAN	0.64	0.82	0.7	0.7	1.9
NETHERLANDS	0.29	0.25	0.5	0.6	0.9
POLISH	0.57	1.14	1.1	0.9	0.9
SCANDINAVIAN	1.57	1.54	1.3	0.8	0.6
UKRAINIAN	1.29	2.43	2.7	2.5	2.0
OTHERS	2.82	2.91	3.45	2.35	2.44

ALBERTA					
ENGLISH	69.79	61.87	62.91	69.01	72.24
FRENCH	4.71	3.84	3.95	3.63	3.17
OTHER EUROPEAN	24.31	29.95	30.05	24.39	21.65
GERMAN	6.80	8.66	7.88	6.93	7.33
ITALIAN	0.65	0.55	0.41	0.36	0.74
NETHERLANDS	0.49	0.54	0.68	1.14	1.84
POLISH	0.99	2.15	2.39	1.62	1.25
SCANDINAVIAN	6.32	5.30	4.54	2.65	1.92
UKRAINIAN	4.72	8.23	9.39	8.72	6.30
OTHERS	4.31	.49	4.72	2.94	2.24

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGES OF VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH YET SPEAK THEIR NATIVE MOTHER TONGUE,
FOR CANADA AND FOR ALBERTA, 1931 - 1961, WITH PROJECTIONS FOR 1971, 1981, 1991, AND 2001.

ETHNIC GROUP	CANADA								
	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 %	AVERAGE CHANGE/DECADE 1931-61	1971 %	1981 %	1991 %	2001 %
ENGLISH	100	100	100	100	-0.91	100	100	100	100
FRENCH	96.73	96.39	94.20	92.46	-1.42	91.04	89.62	88.20	88.78
OTHER EUROPEAN	71.60	70.41	55.93	52.45	-6.38	46.07	39.69	33.31	26.93
GERMAN	76.44	69.34	53.11	53.70	-7.58				
ITALIAN	87.11	71.26	60.58	75.41	-3.99				
NETHERLANDS	17.81	24.99	33.27	39.60	+7.26				
POLISH	81.50	76.84	58.78	49.98	-10.50				
SCANDINAVIAN	70.09	58.83	37.75	30.19	-13.30				
UKRAINIAN	99.09	102.40	89.18	76.37	-7.57				
ALBERTA									
ENGLISH	100	100	100	100	+0.61	100	100	100	100
FRENCH	73.36	73.17	60.86	50.73	-7.54	43.19	35.65	28.11	20.57
OTHER EUROPEAN	77.63	73.21	58.94	48.81	-9.60	39.21	29.61	20.01	10.41
GERMAN	85.17	80.75	60.37	53.27	-10.63				
ITALIAN	84.51	68.26	56.73	65.76	-6.25				
NETHERLANDS	28.94	26.87	36.50	44.37	+5.14				
POLISH	74.42	71.16	51.36	41.33	-11.03				
SCANDINAVIAN	65.31	56.98	35.15	26.70	-12.87				
UKRAINIAN	107.95	103.13	94.30	79.23	-9.57				

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF CANADIAN-BORN, ENGLISH, FRENCH AND "OTHER EUROPEAN" ETHNIC GROUPS

WHO SPEAK THEIR MOTHER TONGUE IN CANADA AND IN ALBERTA, 1931 - 1961

CANADA

ETHNIC GROUP	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 % (ESTIMATED)
ENGLISH	100	100	100	100
FRENCH	96.89	96.43	91.84	89.32 (EXTRAPOLATED)
OTHER EUROPEAN	65.87	57.32	23.76	27.92
GERMAN	62.51	58.71	22.97	9.4
ITALIAN	77.65	56.60	22.72	28.7
NETHERLANDS	10.92	20.22	18.02	7.9
POLISH	73.94	65.82	32.98	12.50 (EXTRAPOLATED)
SCANDINAVIAN	48.17	29.94	14.40	13.6
UKRAINIAN	110.74	100.42	58.40	66.47
OTHERS	77.61	59.37	18.06	9.91

ALBERTA

ENGLISH	100	100	100	100
FRENCH	74.01	73.34	59.78	52.66 (EXTRAPOLATED)
OTHER EUROPEAN	67.64	61.45	24.85	31.82
GERMAN	73.25	69.39	30.12	11.3
ITALIAN	70.93	48.33	27.68	27.27
NETHERLANDS	16.40	19.11	16.12	12.7
POLISH	65.57	60.10	30.78	13.38 (EXTRAPOLATED)
SCANDINAVIAN	41.91	34.79	13.63	8.9
UKRAINIAN	106.36	102.93	38.50	(?) (INDETERMINABLE)
OTHERS	48.10	36.06	4.40	0. (EXTRAPOLATED)

TABLE 6

SELECTED FOREIGN BORN ETHNIC GROUPS, SHOWN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL CANADIAN POPULATION,
FOR CANADA AND FOR ALBERTA, 1921 - 1961

ETHNIC GROUP	CANADA				
	1921 %	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 (ESTIMATED) %
BRITISH	14.33	12.99	10.02	7.68	5.31
FRENCH	0.83	0.74	0.66	0.48	0.35
OTHER EUROPEAN	7.02	7.86	6.42	5.82	7.68
GERMAN	0.94	1.39	0.97	0.92	1.03 (LOW)
ITALIAN	0.43	0.44	0.37	0.44	1.41
NETHERLANDS	0.23	0.28	0.29	0.46	0.74
POLISH	0.29	0.74	0.61	0.69	0.94
SCANDINAVIAN	1.18	1.24	0.92	0.68	0.40
UKRAINIAN	0.55	0.93	0.92	0.85	0.76
OTHERS	3.38	2.81	2.31	1.75	2.37
ALBERTA					
BRITISH	26.45	20.32	14.96	10.84	5.71
FRENCH	1.28	0.90	0.74	0.51	0.25 (ESTIMATED)
OTHER EUROPEAN	18.02	19.95	16.29	13.50	11.03
GERMAN	3.41	4.96	3.51	3.25	1.82 (LOW)
ITALIAN	0.45	0.34	0.26	0.24	0.56
NETHERLANDS	0.89	0.87	0.92	1.18	1.46
POLISH	0.63	1.68	1.49	1.31	1.72
SCANDINAVIAN	5.05	4.75	3.55	2.54	1.14
UKRAINIAN	1.81	3.22	2.98	2.46	1.71
OTHERS	5.73	4.10	3.56	2.49	2.96

TABLE 7

FOREIGN BORN MEMBERS OF ETHNIC GROUPS EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL FOREIGN BORN,
FOR CANADA AND ALBERTA, 1921 - 1961

ETHNIC GROUP	CANADA					1961 (ESTIMATED) %
	1921 %	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %		
ENGLISH	64.43	58.42	57.14	52.29		34.09
FRENCH	3.73	3.35	3.78	3.29		2.26
OTHER EUROPEAN	31.57	35.33	36.64	39.62		49.25
GERMAN	4.25	6.26	5.57	6.28		9.80
ITALIAN	1.94	1.99	2.14	3.02		9.45
NETHERLANDS	1.03	1.29	1.68	3.19		5.72
POLISH	1.31	3.33	3.49	4.73		6.02
SCANDINAVIAN	5.33	5.57	5.29	4.64		4.18
UKRAINIAN	2.50	4.19	5.27	5.83		4.91
OTHERS	15.22	12.66	13.17	11.90		9.16
ALBERTA						
ENGLISH	56.94	48.62	46.10	42.43		26.36
FRENCH	2.76	2.17	2.29	2.01		1.52
OTHER EUROPEAN	38.79	47.74	50.22	52.86		50.90
GERMAN	7.34	11.87	10.82	12.72		16.13
ITALIAN	0.98	0.83	0.81	0.97		2.64
NETHERLANDS	1.92	2.09	2.84	4.64		8.10
POLISH	1.36	4.03	4.59	5.14		7.95
SCANDINAVIAN	10.88	11.36	10.96	9.96		5.30
UKRAINIAN	3.89	7.70	9.18	9.66		6.19
OTHERS	12.35	9.82	10.99	9.76		4.52

TABLE 8 A.

RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP,

FOR CANADA AND FOR ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961

	CANADA					
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
	%	%	%	%	%	%
CANADA (TOTAL)	62.50 3,357,093	54.58 3,933,696	50.47 4,435,827	46.28 4,802,988	45.66 5,254,239	38.41 5,381,176
BRITISH	58.18 1,782,260	50.93 1,985,083	46.32 2,255,341	42.45 2,284,664	41.72 2,385,136	34.33 2,303,488
FRENCH	66.25 1,092,817	59.25 1,217,561	52.28 1,282,379	46.04 1,348,094	45.09 1,570,708	40.10 1,732,390
OTHER EUROPEAN	69.27 317,258	61.91 584,947	60.14 750,081	55.42 1,011,623	54.44 1,112,884	44.80 1,124,134
GERMAN	71.95 223,435	66.50 268,302	66.76 196,722	63.06 298,623	63.55 295,338	55.81 346,047
ITALIAN	34.61 3,750	30.16 13,864	20.72 13,837	18.45 18,110	19.06 21,476	11.89 18,109
NETHERLANDS	74.16 25,101	73.11 40,918	69.18 81,297	66.04 98,388	66.97 132,573	59.12 156,241
POLISH	76.72 4,822	54.44 18,321	54.65 29,185	53.42 77,742	50.71 84,948	36.98 81,303
SCANDINAVIAN	61.60 19,123	73.68 83,034	74.70 125,022	67.69 154,380	64.86 158,669	53.26 150,766
UKRAINIAN	96.53 5,485	85.00 64,118	80.14 85,534	70.46 158,635	66.02 202,002	49.73 196,479
OTHERS	59.46 35,542	44.32 96,490	49.57 218,484	40.66 205,745	38.80 207,878	30.50 175,189
						20.86 209,462

TABLE 8 B.

ALBERTA

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
ALBERTA (TOTAL)	74.61 73,022	63.22 236,633	62.12 365,550	61.93 453,097	61.49 489,583	52.13 489,826	36.69 488,733
BRITISH	61.60 21,502	59.97 115,563	52.06 183,184	50.19 195,365	48.71 194,568	40.83 184,457	29.72 178,865
FRENCH	75.74 3,417	74.65 14,800	69.85 21,594	69.82 26,795	67.10 28,842	60.17 33,807	43.38 36,151
OTHER EUROPEAN	85.11 16,687	76.23 91,546	78.47 144,041	75.89 214,236	74.71 244,243	62.71 243,808	41.02 242,341
GERMAN	85.27 6,682	73.17 30,481	81.52 28,806	76.17 56,710	77.65 60,352	65.26 70,478	41.29 75,707
ITALIAN	73.39 80	49.86 1,072	55.28 2,227	54.82 2,613	52.05 2,536	38.70 2,321	15.28 2,296
NETHERLANDS	67.47 249	67.16 2,146	71.71 6,806	70.04 9,572	71.80 14,670	64.67 19,006	39.13 21,734
POLISH	83.19 391	73.31 1,684	75.48 5,414	78.44 16,597	74.14 19,903	61.14 18,135	39.75 16,118
SCANDINAVIAN	83.70 3,298	82.38 24,341	81.86 36,466	76.71 45,615	73.07 46,401	62.76 44,517	45.64 43,766
UKRAINIAN	72.55 460	87.96 15,467	91.09 21,705	83.37 46,586	81.35 58,470	67.68 58,854	46.29 49,032
OTHERS	88.46 5,527	70.31 16,633	72.16 42,617	69.07 36,543	69.97 41,911	52.74 30,497	35.62 33,688

CHART 1

FRENCH - CANADIAN GROUP

CANADA, 1901 - 1961

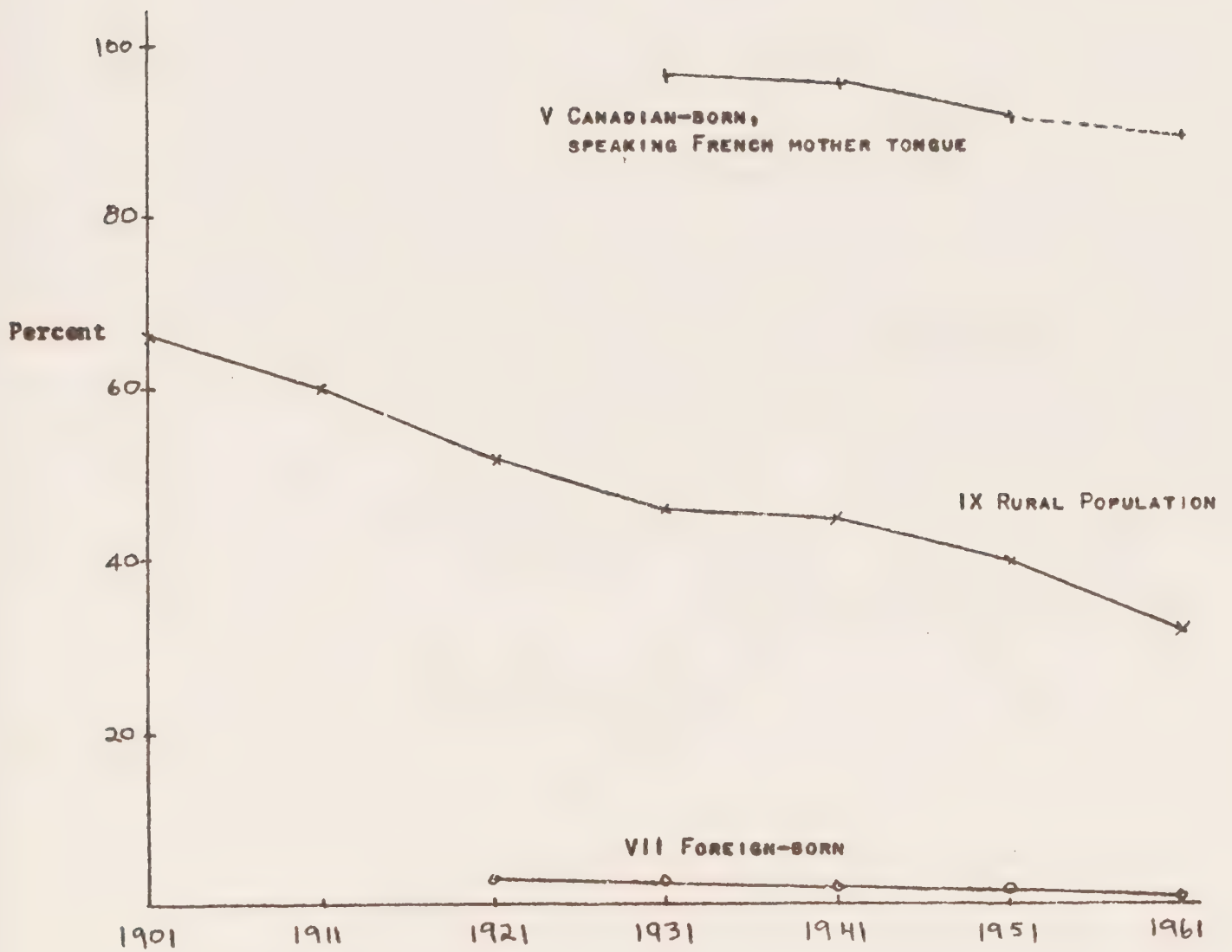


CHART 2

"OTHER EUROPEAN" ETHNIC GROUPS

CANADA, 1901 - 1961

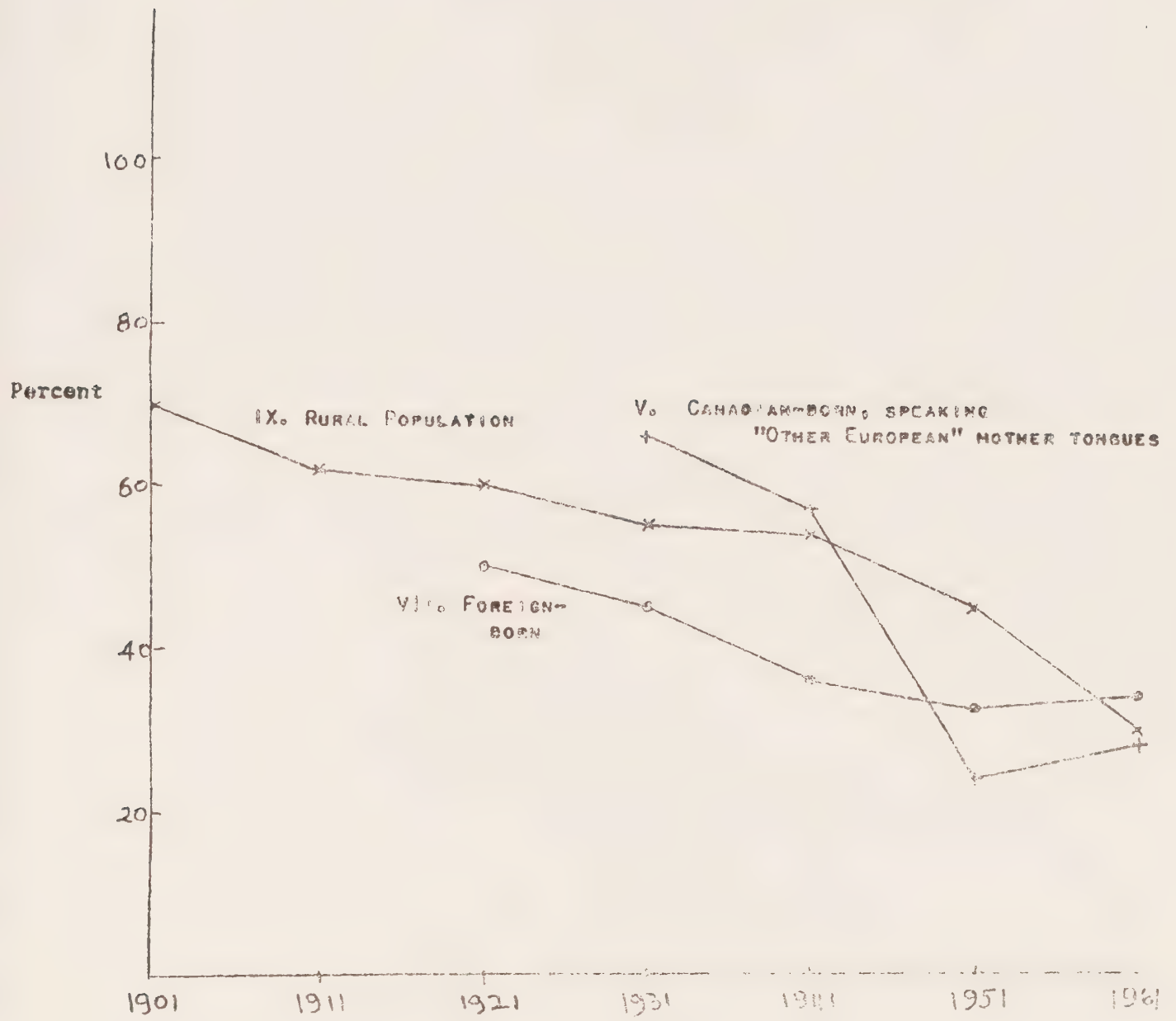


CHART 3

GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP

CANADA,

1901 - 1961

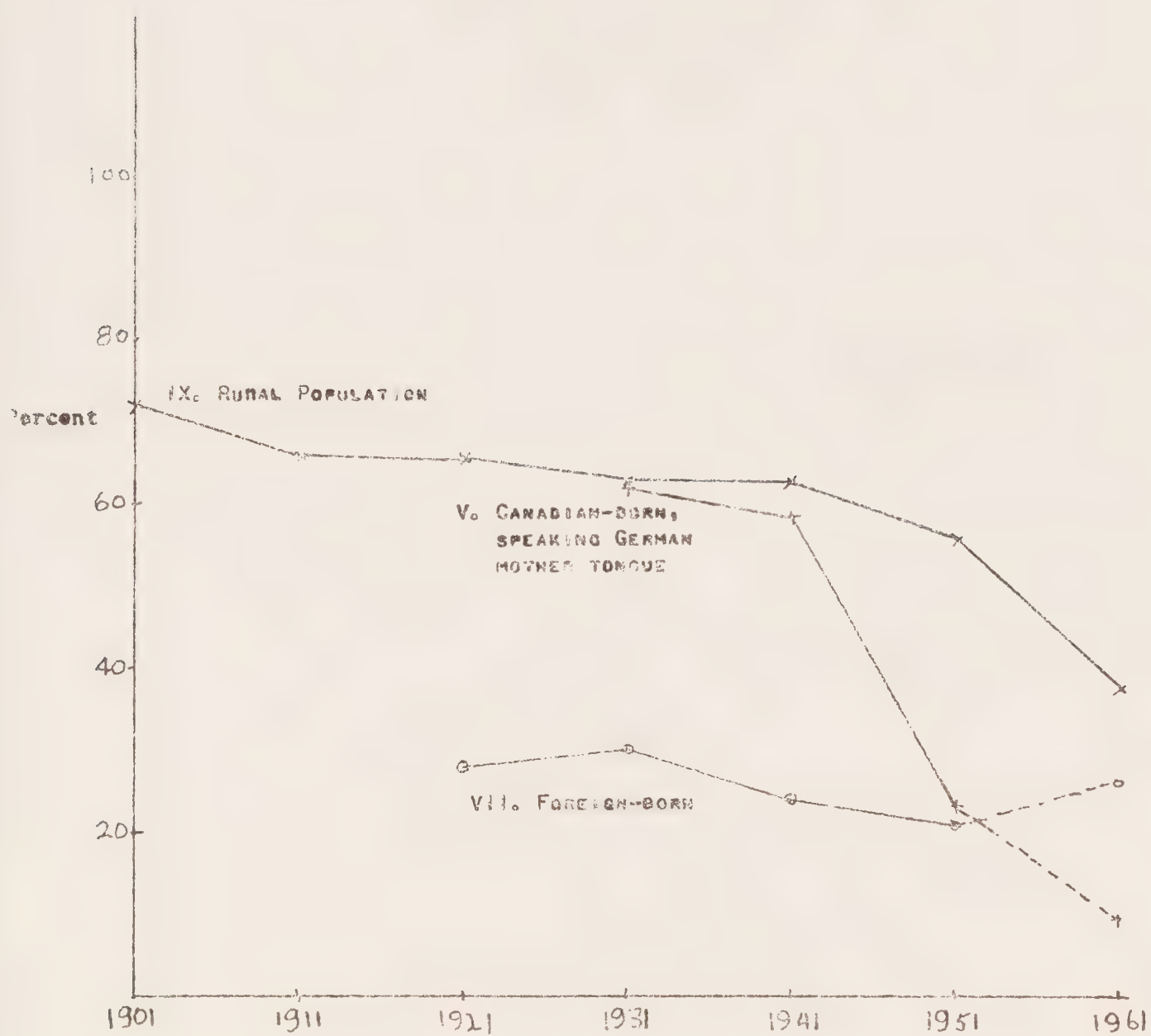


CHART 4
ITALIAN GROUP
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

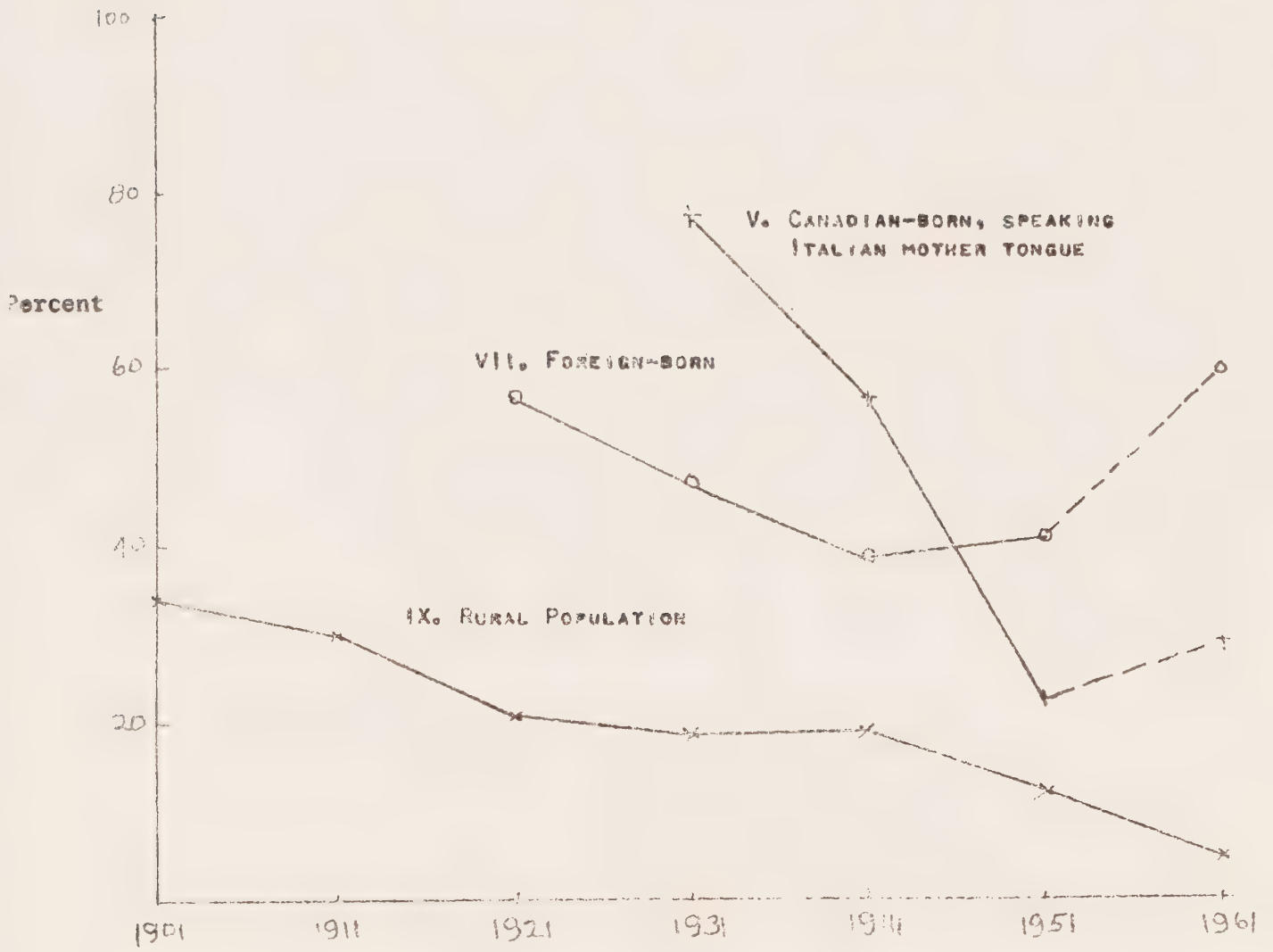


Chart 5

NETHERLANDS GROUP
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

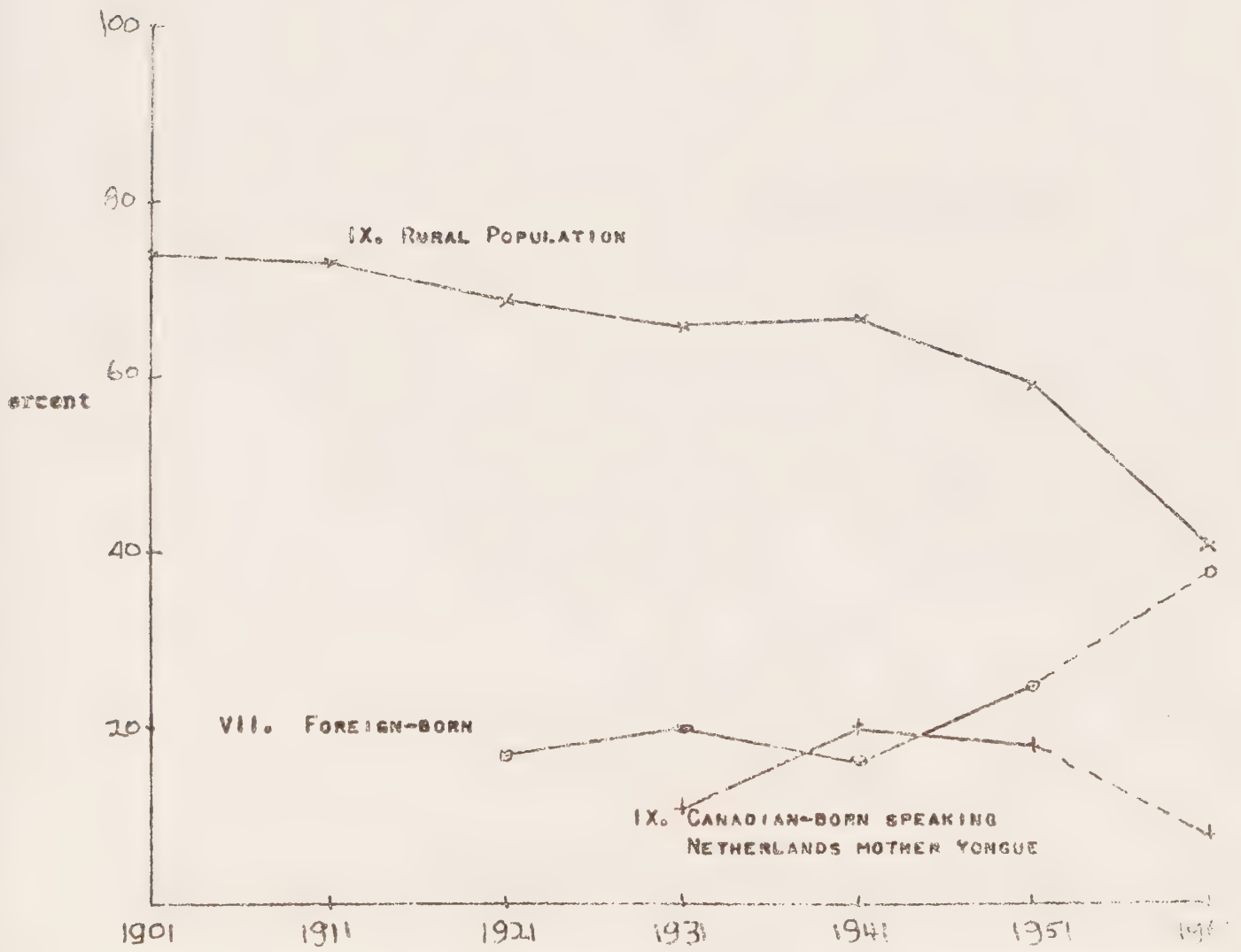
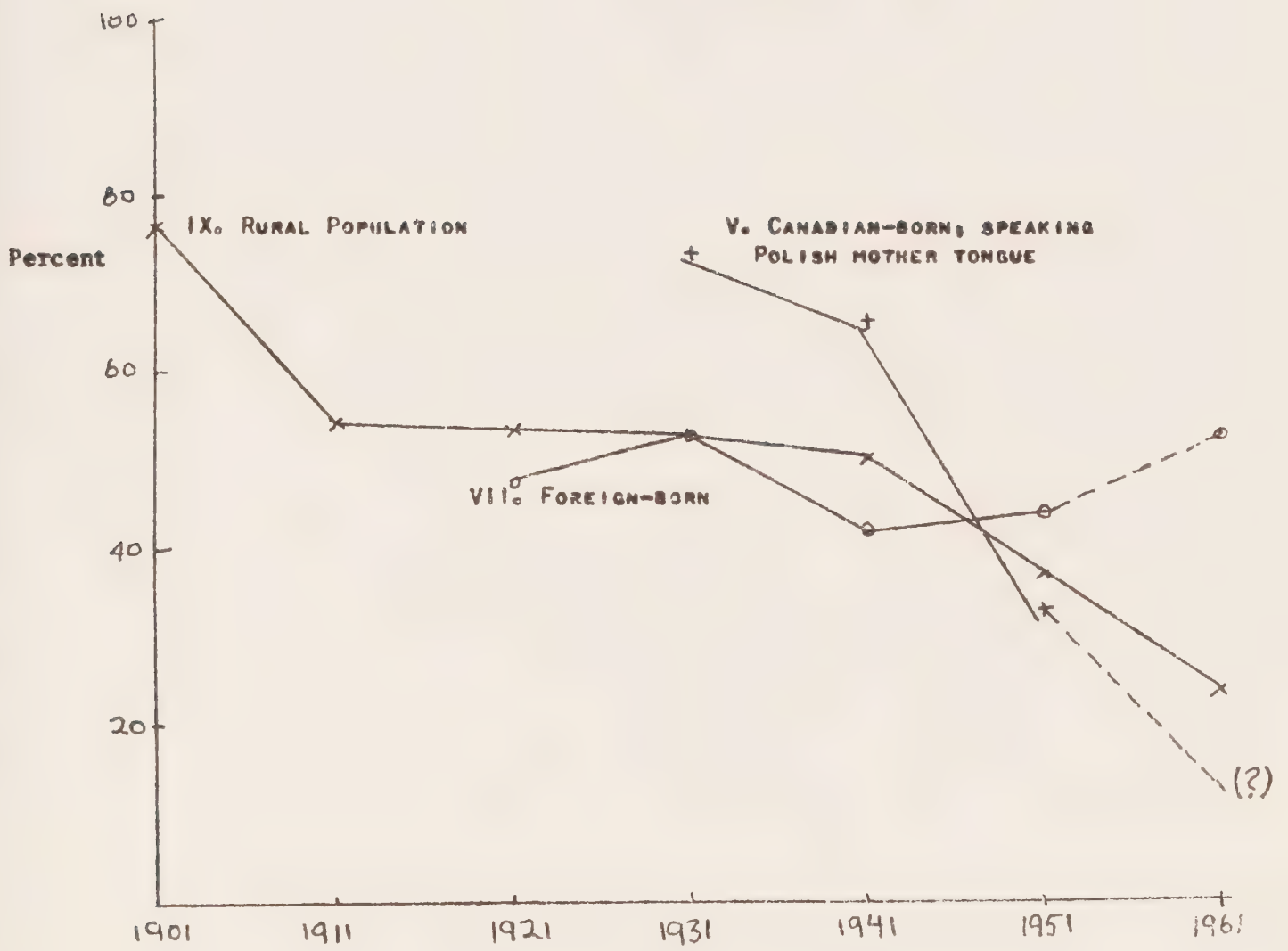


CHART 6

POLISH GROUP
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

SCANDINAVIAN GROUP
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

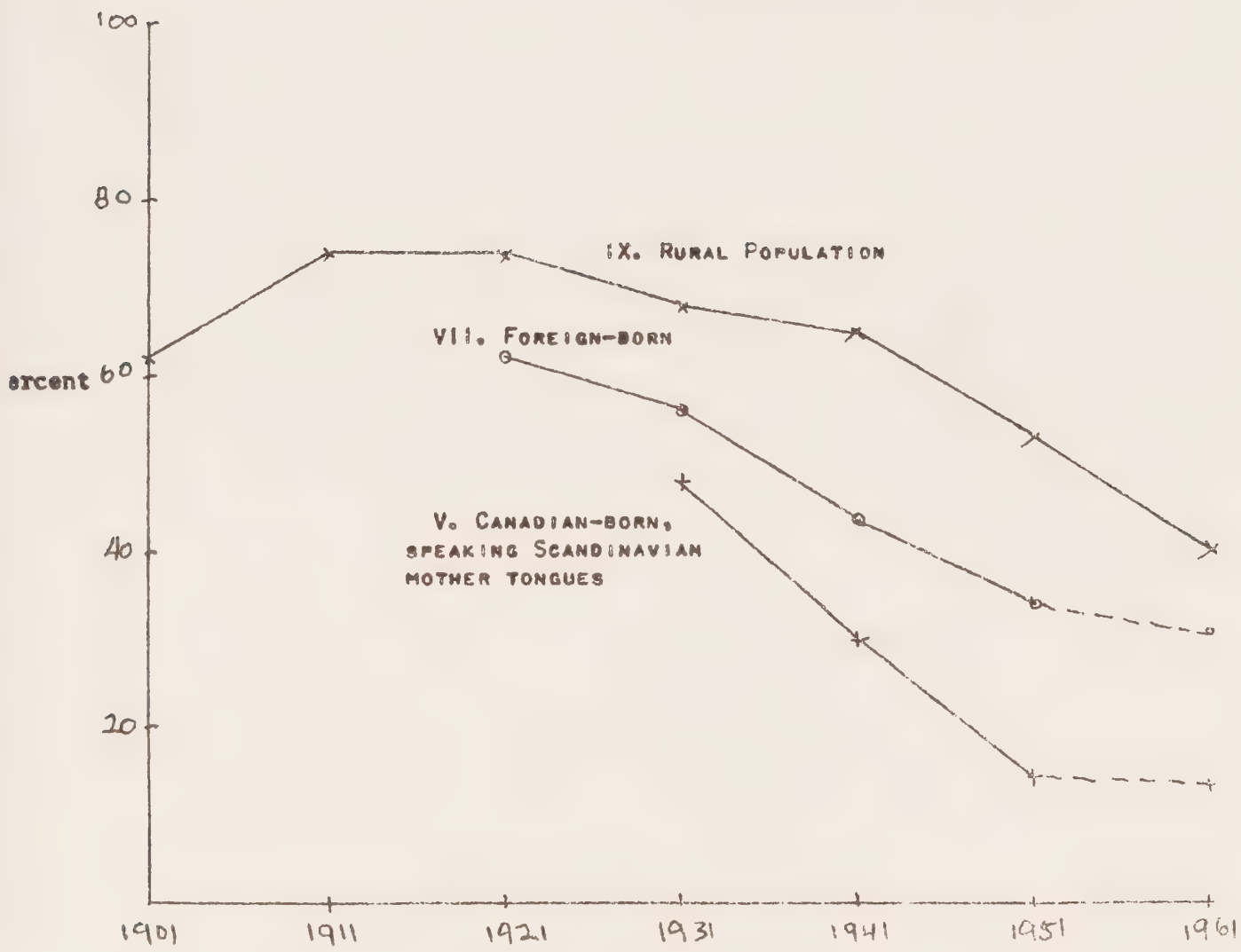


CHART 5

UKRAINIAN GROUP
CANADA, 1901 - 1961

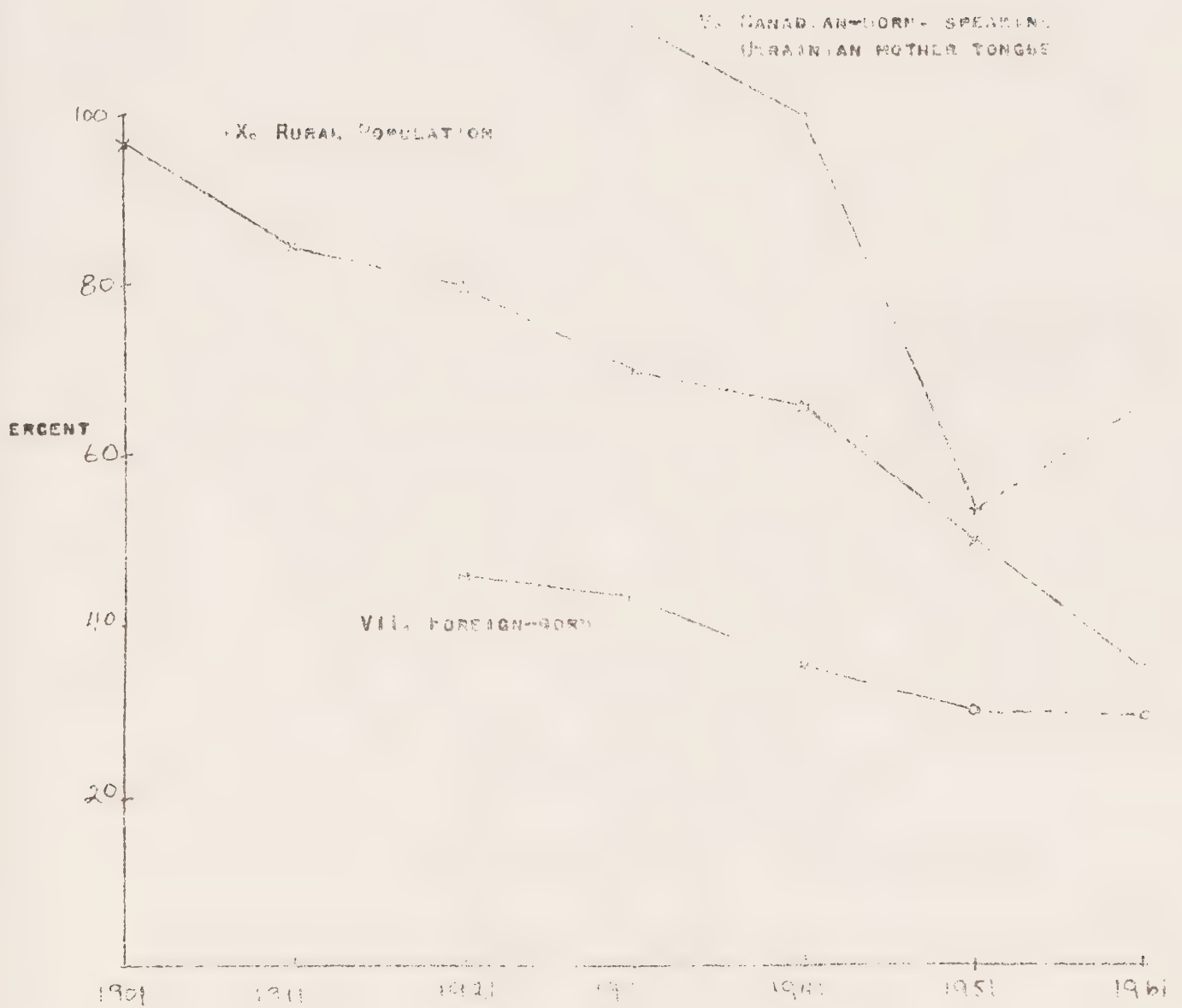
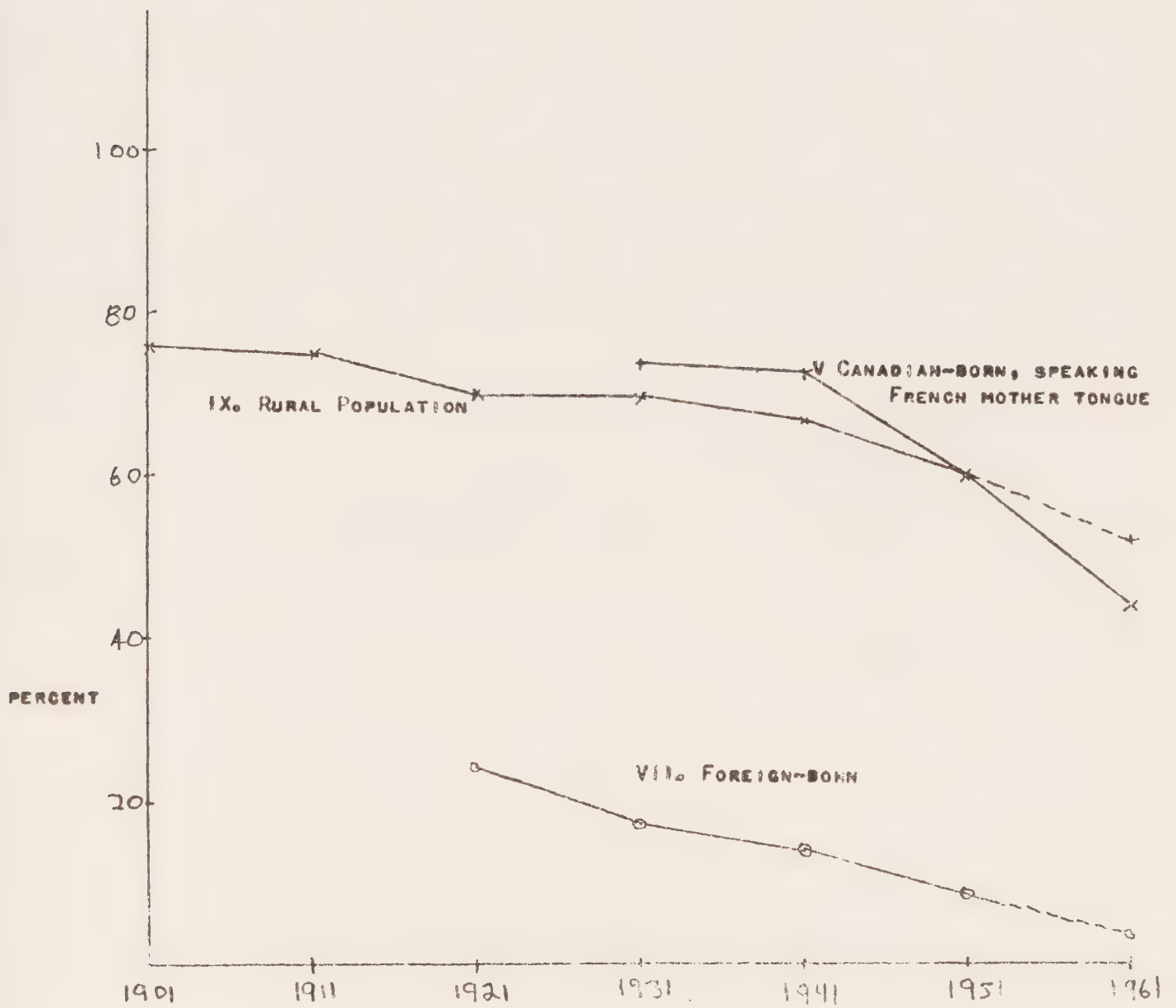


CHART 9

FRENCH-CANADIAN GROUP

ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



"OTHER EUROPEAN" ETHNIC GROUPS

ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961

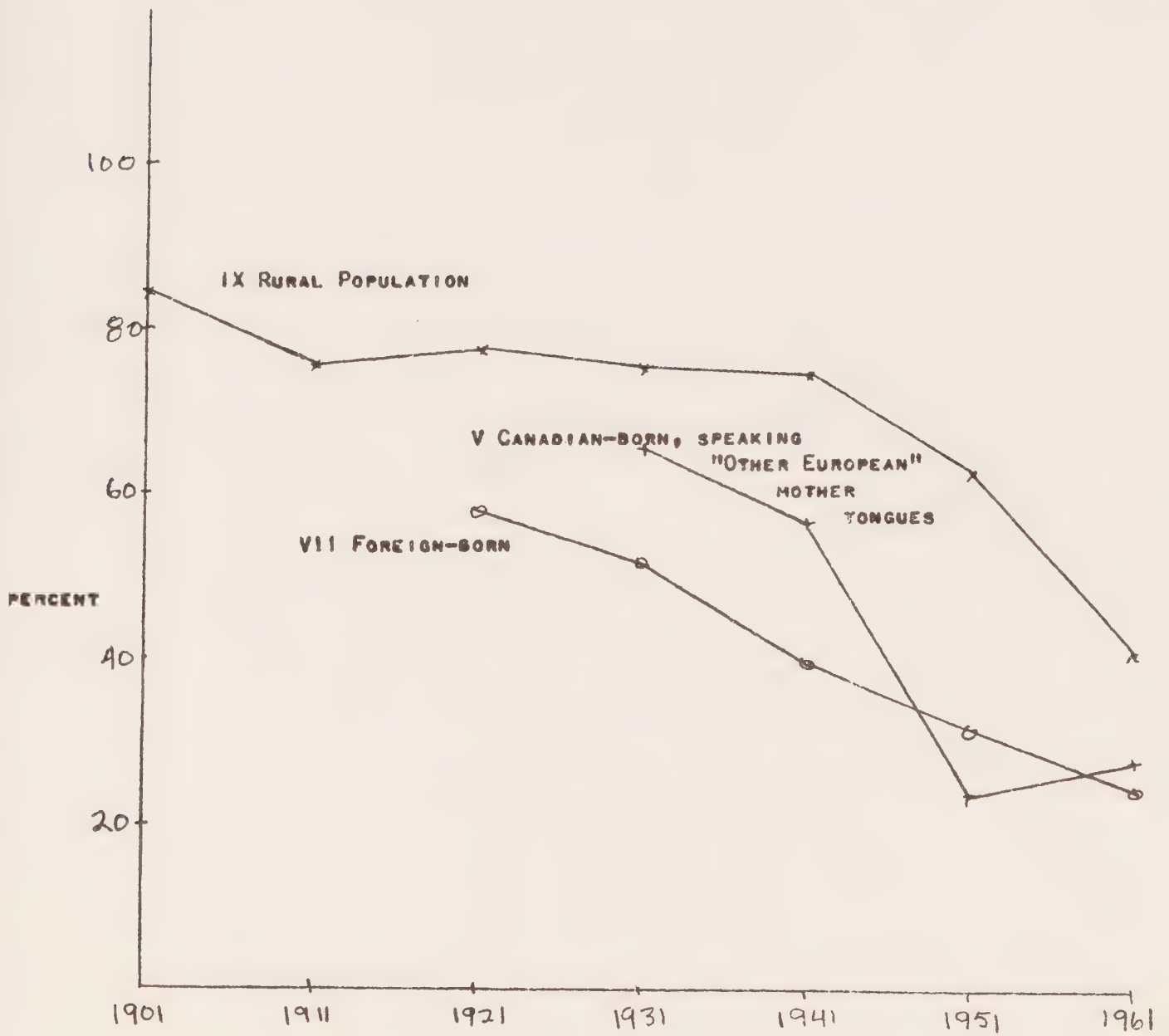


CHART 11

GERMAN GROUP
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961

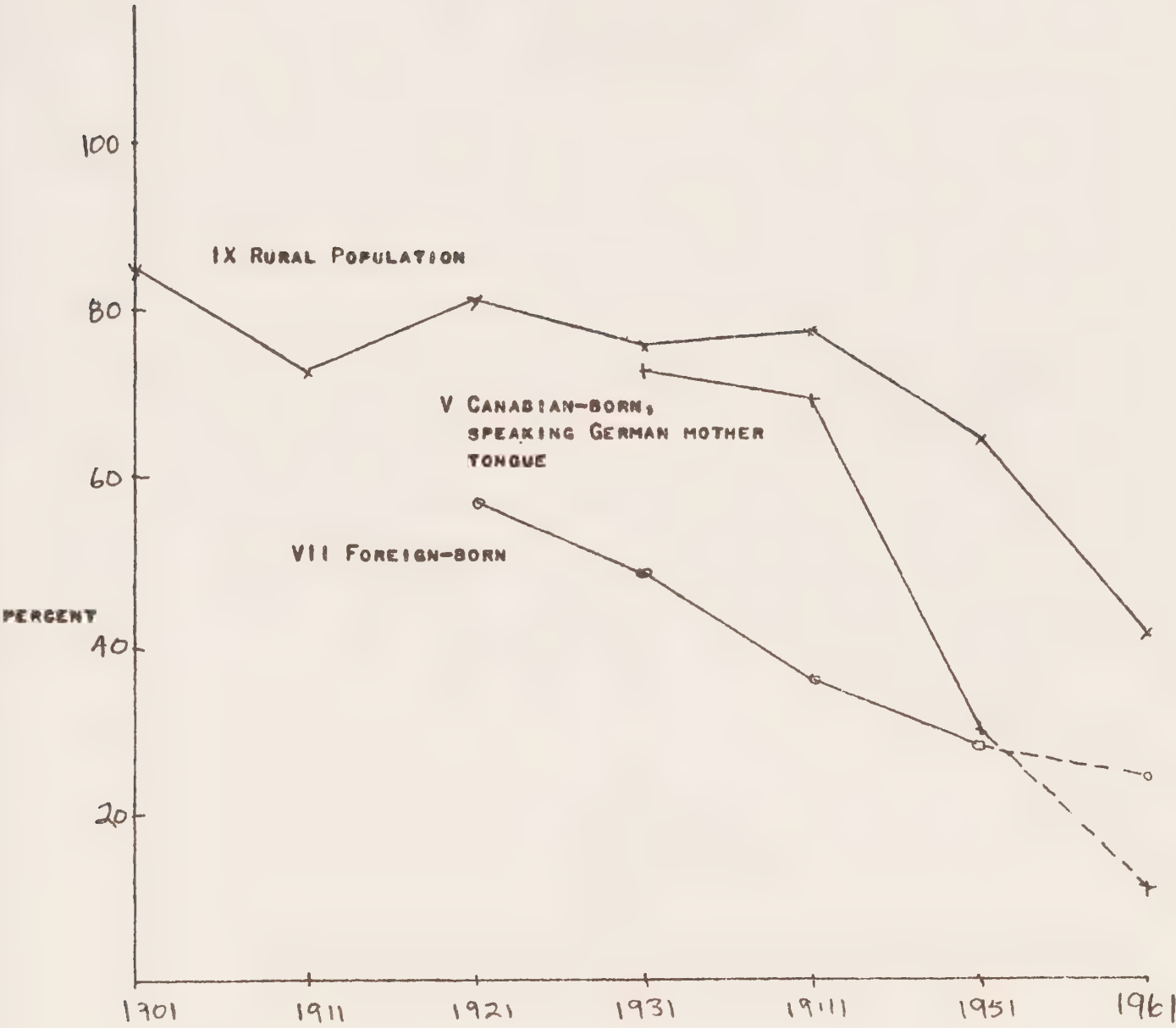
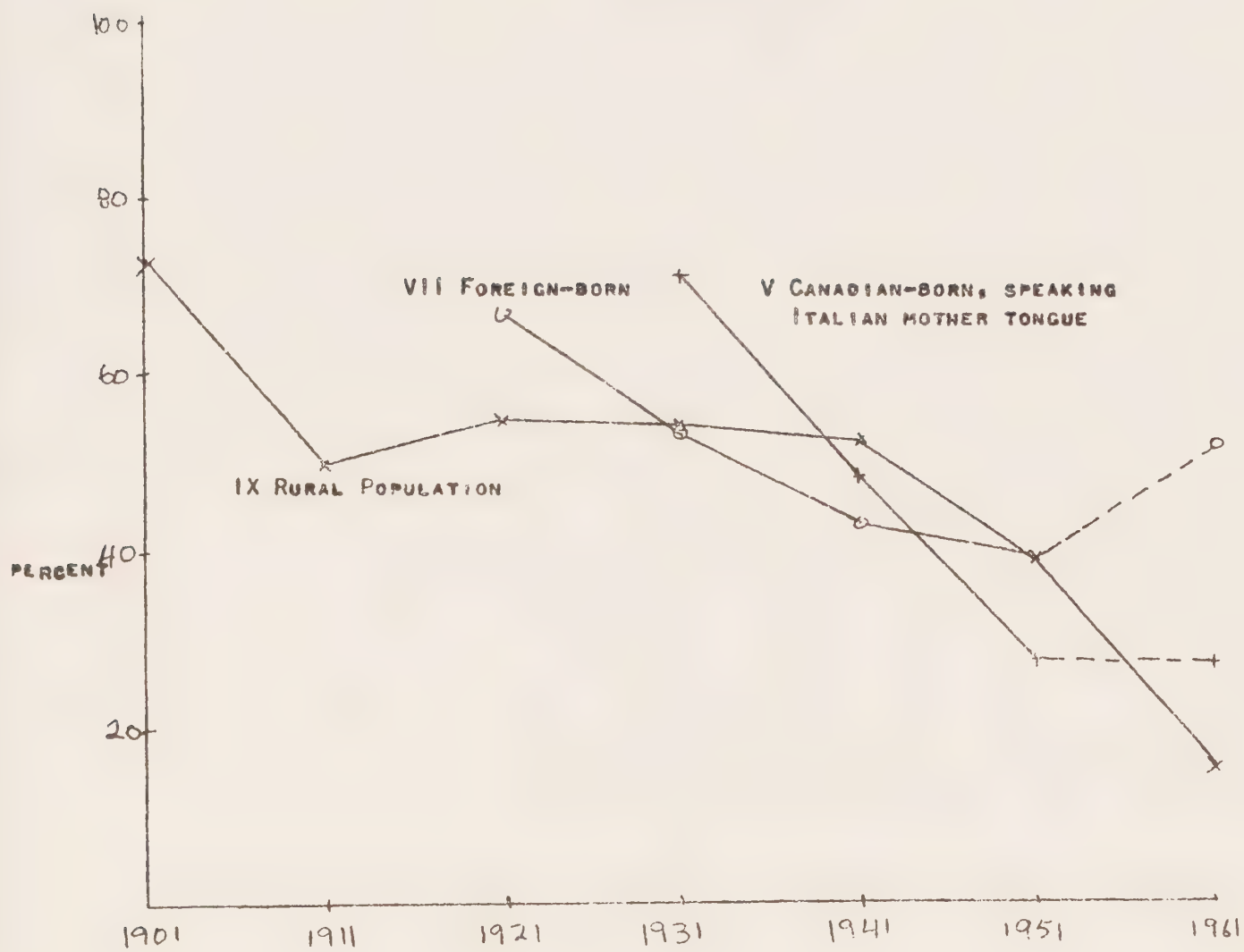


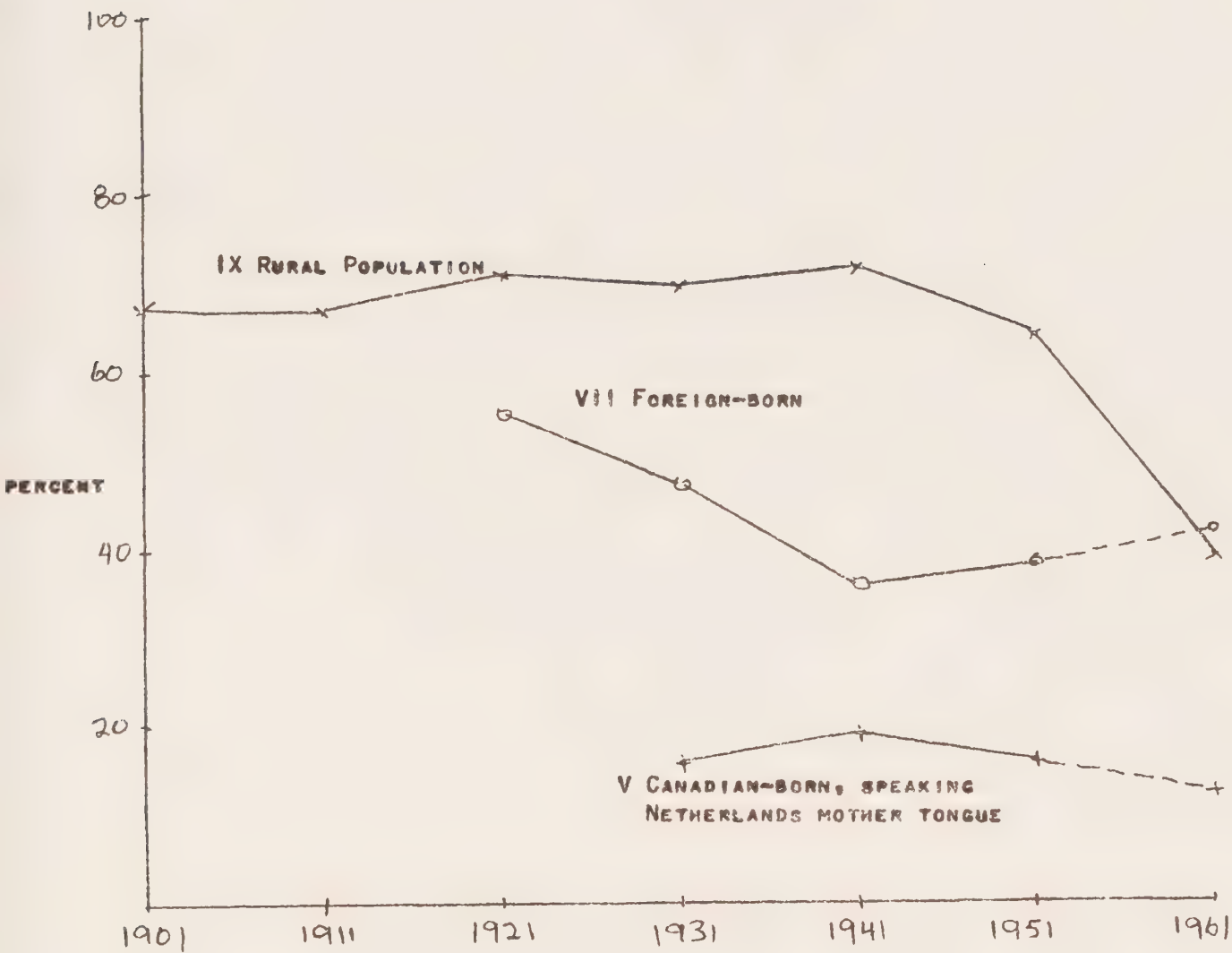
CHART 12

ITALIAN GROUP

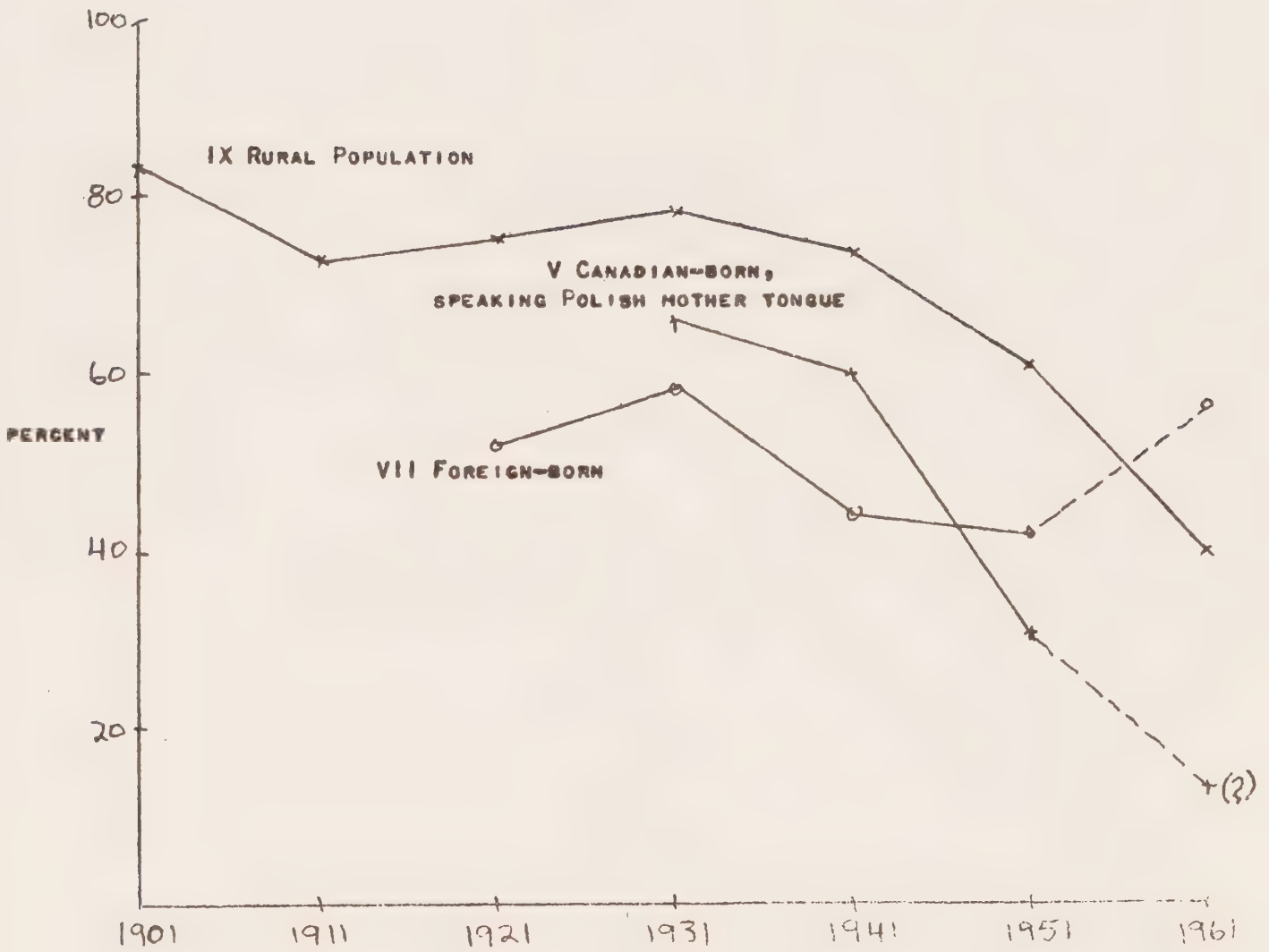
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



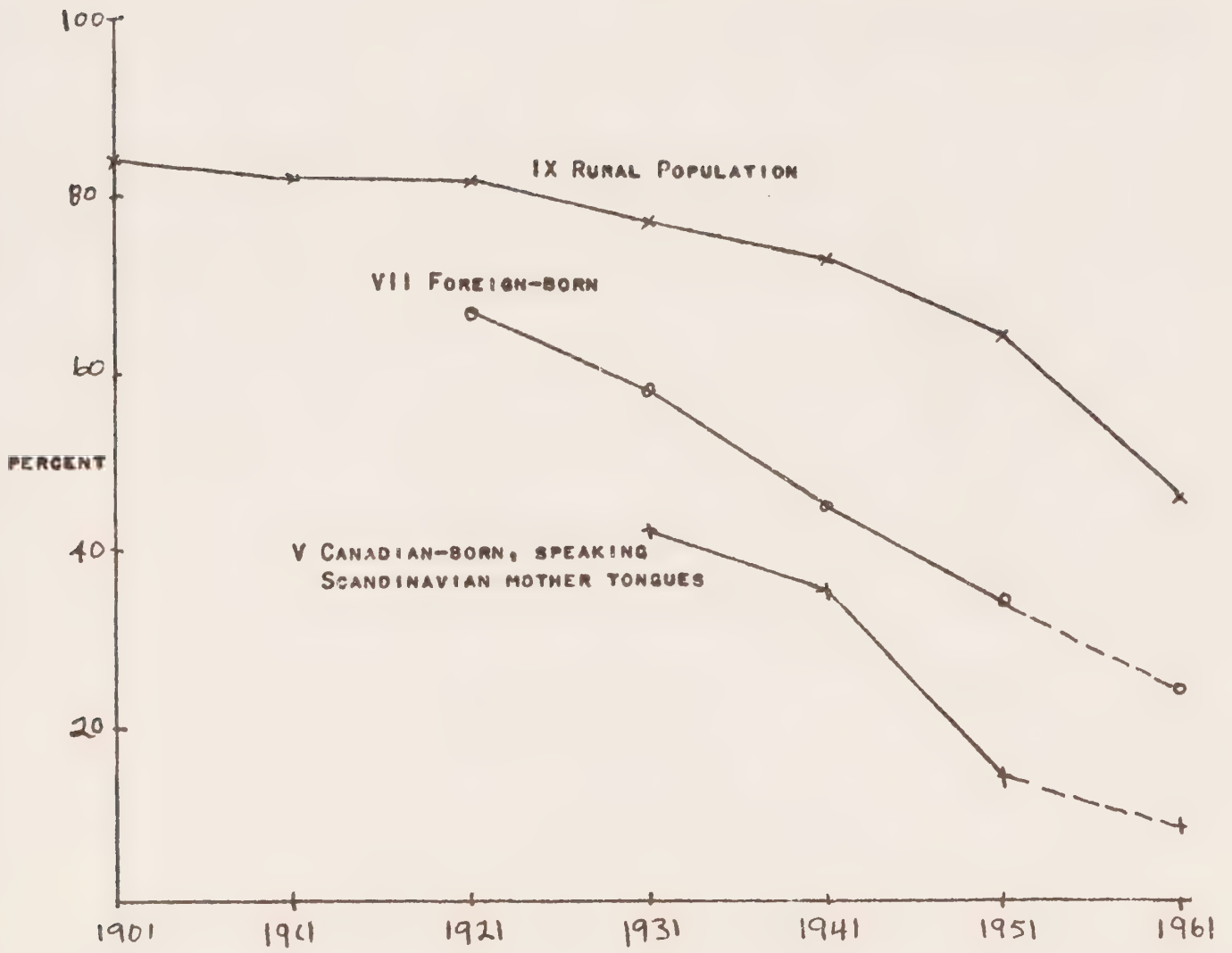
NETHERLANDS GROUP
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



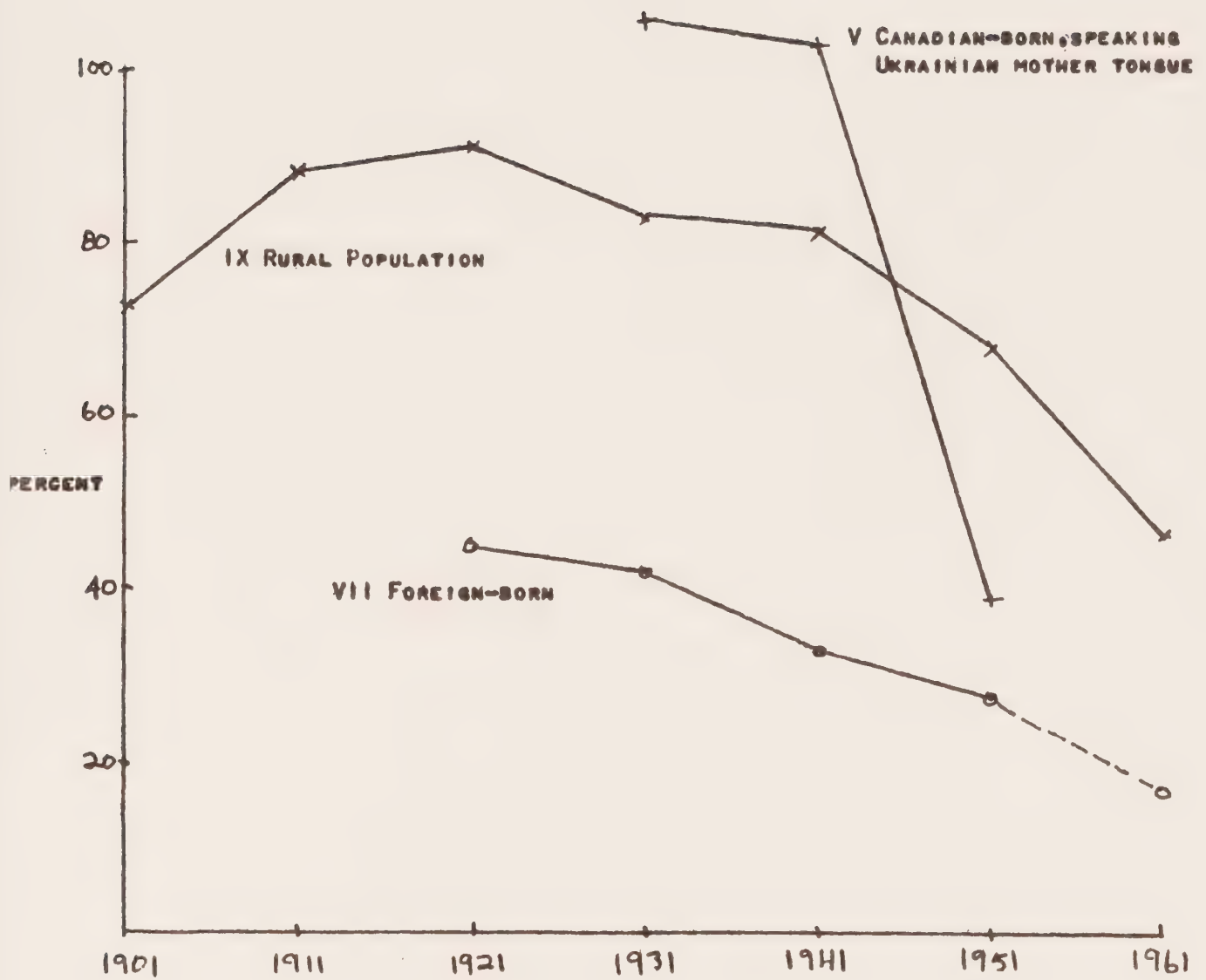
POLISH GROUP
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



SCANDINAVIAN GROUP
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



UKRAINIAN GROUP
ALBERTA, 1901 - 1961



APPENDIX V111

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DIVISION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION



EDMONTON, ALBERTA
CANADA

April 18, 1958.

Mrs. A.G. McCalla,
11455 University Avenue,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Dear Mrs. McCalla:

I have examined with interest your brief regarding some aspects of language instruction. I believe your brief contains several good points.

I am especially interested in the possibilities of using applications of the science of phonetics in the teaching of second languages. A more widespread use of the symbols of the International Phonetic Association would be helpful. Phonetic symbols may be used or abused in the teaching of second languages. For ordinary classes such as French classes in our high schools, I believe that it is important to make judicious use of the symbols and to introduce them gradually, otherwise they may be a source of confusion to the beginning student. I believe that the knowledge of some phonetic principles and of the sounds associated with the symbols of the International Phonetic Association can be very helpful to a teacher of French who is not natively French-speaking. The text currently used in the French 20 and French 30 courses of our high schools, Nos Voisins Francais, makes some use of phonetic symbols as an aid in the teaching of pronunciation. In a half-year course which our Faculty of Education offers in methods of teaching French, we give attention to the possible usefulness of the phonetic charts and symbols.

Sincerely,

B.E. Walker

BEW/db

B.E. Walker, Acting Chairman,
Division of Secondary Education.

TITLE: Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: The General Faculty Council, University of Alberta.

Brief of ...68.... pages; ...22....recommendation (s)

REMARKS OF ANALYST: A thorough analysis of the problem; well documented.

This brief is supplemented by 16 charts illustrating the percentage of the different ethnic groups that live in Alberta and Canada, either foreign born or Canadian born between the years 1901 to 1961.

There are also 8 tables on the same percentages as the charts.

The research that was made for this brief is supported by a series of thesis (32 to be exact) that were submitted to the University of Alberta on the subjects of education, geography, history, linguistics and sociology.

ATT.: RESEARCH

- Distribution of civil service graduate employees by university of first degree survey on educational qualifications..8
- Albertans in the civil service (statistics).....9-10
- Teaching French in the schools of Alberta (statistics).....15
- Demographic trends and implications with special reference to mother tongue retention.....21-26
- Percentage of the British ethnic group in Alberta (1961).....28
- Percentage of the French ethnic group in Alberta...1921-1961....30
- Report of a survey of French in Alberta schools.....31
- Appendix comprising 32 thesis supporting the brief.....39-42
- Tables on statistics.....44-52
- Charts on statistics.....53-68

<u>TABLES OF CONTENTS:</u>	<u>PAGES</u>
RECOMMENDATIONS: Summary.....	1-4
#1-2.....	12
#3-9.....	13
#10-15.....	16
#16-18.....	26
#19-22.....	37

By: The General Faculty Council, University of Alberta

JUNE, 1964

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Part I - "Summary of recommendations"	1
Part II- "Introduction"	5
Part III-"The Federal Administration"	9
Part IV -"Mass Communications Media"	13
Part V - "Teaching French in the schools of Alberta"	15
Part VI-"SOME POINTS OF VIEW"	
A.-"Confederation: An interpretation"	18
B.-"Demographic trends and implications"	20
C.-"The British Ethnic Group"	28
D.-"The French Ethnic Group"	30
E.-"The Non-British and Non-French Ethnic Groups"	33
Part VII- "Some General Recommendations"	37
Appendix A.-"Relevant Research completed or in Progress at the University of Alberta."	38
Appendix B.- "Tables and Charts."	43

Part I Summary of Recommendations

pp. 1 to 4.

Part II Introduction pp. 5 to 7

-Views of the University of Alberta and the problems of language and culture in Canada.

-The difference between the two people is also in Religion, politics and education.

-Cooperation between the two groups while taking advantage of the cultural contribution.

-Promotion of opportunities on an equitable basis.

-The choice of becoming bilingual should be left to the individual.

Part III The Federal Administration pp.9 to 12.

-The subject is treated from the point of view of faculty members.

A.-Albertans in the Federal Civil Service (para.10-11)

The proportion of students in post graduate courses that have been accepted in the civil service members 15% compared to a national 9% for other Canadian universities.

-Thus recommendations for bilingualism in the federal administration will ^{be} accept a great number of Alberta graduates.

B.- The Federal administration in Alberta (para.12)

-Improvement of the situation for French Canadian students who do business with the federal government.

C.-The Federal administration in Canada (para.13-16)

-Necessity for persons in the Federal administration and Crown Corporation to be bilingual.

-The teaching of French to civil service employees should be encouraged-also in Alberta.

-It would prove "a positive influence on life in Alberta as a whole."

D. The Role of the University of Alberta. (para. 17-18)

-The teaching of French should be at the level of elementary school.

-The University of Alberta has an Institute of French Canadian Studies -other provinces should have that as well.

Part IV Mass Communication Media (pp. 13-14)

-French need access to mass media in the language concerned.

Part V Teaching of French in the Schools of Alberta (pp. 15-17)

-An early training in the development of audio-lingual skills is an advantage.

-But there is a lack of teachers and coordination.

-Final examinations in secondary school should take into account audio-lingual skills.

-We should receive generous funds from the federal government to impose language teaching; same as in the United States -

Part VI Some Points of View (pp. 18-36)

A.- Confederation: An interpretation (par. 24-30)

- The difficulties of cooperation between the two people were the causes for confederation in 1867.
- It assured a continued co-existence between the two groups.
- In Confederation debates it is easy to see that the French had no intention of legislating themselves out of existence.
- The Central government was seen as the guarantor of French Canadian rights.
- Cartier thought that the Imperial Bond plus the division of federal and provincial powers would serve to guarantee French Canadian rights. "But this Rouge opposition was unconvinced and predicted precisely the sort of loss of economic autonomy which is bothering Quebec today."
- Thus in 1967 it may be the province of Federal government to preserve those rights as it did in 1867.
- The teaching of history is handicapped by unilingualism.
- "The ideal might be a bilingualism among those who need it and an aware and sympathetic attitude on the part of the others.

B.- Demographic trends and implications with special reference to mother tongue retention (par. 31-44)

I. Introduction: We shall consider the interrelation between the factors which contribute to Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

3. Interrelationships between variable and discussion.-

- The factors that may be associated with the tendency to lose or to retain the mother tongue.
- "The relationship between these factors are rather clearly revealed in charts 1 to 16...In virtually all the cases the slope of the graph line indicating the proportion of the Canadian born members of each ethnic group which can yet speak the language of their country of ancestry, appears to be a function of the graph line indicating the proportion of ethnic group

which is foreign born and the proportion of the group which resides in Canada "

4.- Implications -

-It appears that English facilities will increase in speed.

-Summary of argument.

(a) It is possible to train many people to be bilingual and even trilingual.

(b) The increase in commercial, cultural and tourist dealings with other countries may be hoped for.

(c) These dealings will be facilitated if Canadians can speak the languages of these countries as well as French and English.

(d) The cause of Canadian science and scholarship will be advanced with the learning of these many languages.

(e) The cause of world peace would be greatly helped if more people could speak other people's native tongue.

C.-British Ethnic Groups.

-45% of population in Alberta is British.

-The proportions being the same for the rest of Western Canada, French therefore is good only for the Eastern section of Canada.

-Alberta recognizes "le fait Franais" in Canada.

D.-The French Ethnic Group.

-The French Canadian in Alberta wants to maintain his language and culture.

-The increase in population: 27 %

-for the retention of mother tongue, down 20%

-They are in a milieu where they are apt to lose their language.

-Suggestions:

-The teaching of courses in both languages.

-The installation of a French CBC Network throughout Canada.

E.-The Non-British and the Non-French Ethnic Group.

F.-The Non-British and Non-French Ethnic Group (para.60-65)

1. Approaches to the Problem.--

(a) Federal level:

-Bilingualism for all Canadians without discrimination against representatives of other ethnic groups.

(b) Regional level: (in the prairie provinces)

-The Federal formula cannot easily apply due to the multi-ethnic nature of the region.

-To them, bilingualism should include their mother tongue and English. This situation cannot be reversed except at the price of the principles of citizen's equality and of the democratic process".

-Trilingualism is an unpractical possibility.

II Assumptions

-Bilingualism and biculturalism is a desirable phenomenon as it:

(1) gives a distinctive character of Canada

(2) allows an enrichment of the Canadian Culture

(3) widens the participation of Canadians in cultural activities.

(4) Enhances Canada's role as an interpreter, mediator and peacemaker.

By: The General Faculty Council, University of Alberta.

INDEX OF SOURCES

N.B. See Appendix A for "Relevant Research completed or in progress
at the University of Alberta"...39

N.B. See Appendix B for "Tables and Charts".....44

AUTHOR (s)

ROGERS, N.M.L., "The Compact Theory of Confederation"

Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association,
III, 1931

UNDERHILL, F.H., "The Massey Lectures", 1963 Toronto C.B.C. to be
printed 1964.

APPENDIX A

RELEVANT RESEARCH COMPLETED OR IN PROGRESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Education

- Sr. Dominique-De-Marie "An Investigation of the Teaching of French to English-Speaking Pupils of Grades 1 to 8 of Alberta and Saskatchewan Schools" (M.Ed.), 1962.
- R. A. Lambert "An Experimental Comparison of Two Methods of Teaching French to Non-French Students at the Grade Ten Level" (M.Ed.), 1959.
- P. A. Lamoureux "The Application of Linguistics to the Teaching of French in Grade X" (M.Ed.), 1964.
- N. M. Purvis "A Survey of Second Language Programs for English-Speaking Children in Grades One Through Nine in Canadian Schools" (M.Ed.), 1961.
- Sr. Simon-Hermann "A Report on an Applied Linguistics Method Used to improve the Spoken French of French-Speaking Students at the Grade Seven Level" (M.Ed.), 1962.
- J. Skwarok "The Ukrainian Settlers and Their Schools (With Reference to Government, French-Canadian and Ukrainian Missionary Influences) 1891-1921" (M.Ed.), 1958.
- Sr. St. Sylva "An Investigation of the Teaching of French in the Bilingual Schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan" (M.Ed.), 1960.
- Sr. Ste. Theresia "An Experimental Study of Achievement in French Language by Non-French Pupils of Grades Four and Seven in Selected Alberta Schools" (M.Ed.), 1963.
- D. M. Sullivan "An Investigation of the English Disabilities of Ukrainian and Polish Students in Grades IX, X, XI, XII of Alberta Schools" (M.Ed.), 1946.
- R. C. Weldon "A Comparison of French-Speaking and Non-French-Speaking Students in High School French" (M.Ed.), 1947.

Geography

- Virginia Hull "Rural Land Use and Landscape Patterns as Influenced by Ethnic Groups in the Census District Surrounding Edmonton" (M.A.), 1962

- Wayne Moodie "Historical Geography of St. Albert" (M.A.), 1964.
- History
- William P. Baergen "The Fur Trade posts of Lesser Slave Lake" (M.A.), 1965
- Clifford G. Edwards "The Work of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in Western Canada" (M.A.), 1965.
- John E. Foster "The Red River Colony and the Protestant Clergy" (M.A.), 1965.
- Eric J. Holmgren "The Barr Colony" (M.A.) 1964.
- Miss I. Loggie "The Importance of the Peace River and Valley in the History of the Peace River Country to 1908" (M.A.), 1964.
- Aron Sawatzky "The Mennonites and Their Assimilation in Alberta" (M.A.), 1964.
- James Parker "The Fur Trade At Fort Chippewayan: 1800-1830" (M.A.), 1965.
- Yves-François Zoltvany "Biography of Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France" (Ph.D.), 1963.
- Linguistics
- Neville Lincoln "Phonology of the Métis French Dialect of Saint-Paul, Alberta" (M.A.), 1963.
- Sociology
- Mr. And Mrs. I. Sperber "Eskimo, French, Indian and Anglican Cultures: A Study in Assimilation and Discrimination in an Urban Area," 1964.
- T. Borheck, C. Hobart, P. Jacoby, W. Kalbach "Ukrainian Adjustment in Alberta," 1966.
- Charles Brant "A Study of a Contemporary Indian Reserve Community," 1966.
- B. Y. Card, G. Hirabayashi, C. L. "The Métis in Alberta Society," 1963.
- G. Hirabayashi "Urban Adjustment of Indians in Edmonton," 1964.
- C. Hobart "Consequences of the Federal Education Program for Eskimos," 1965.
- Myrna Gale Costanzo, Robert George Morrow "Survey of Attitudes Towards Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Calgary" (Attitudes of five groups of 50 people--professional, university students, high school students,

working people who did not complete high school--divided by sex), 1964.

Jacqueline Harvie

"An Analysis of the Treatment in Mass Media of the Bicultural Question" (Canada with special reference to Alberta), 1964.

Frank G. Vallee,
Mildred A. Schwartz,
Frank Darknell

"Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 23, pp. 540-549, November, 1957.

Frank G. Vallee,
Mildred A. Schwartz

"Report on Criminality among the Foreign Born in Canada," in Bernard Blishen, et al., Canadian Society, New York: Free Press, pp. 560-567, 1961.

Mildred A. Schwartz

"Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin," in John Meisel, editor, Papers on the Canadian General Election of 1962, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. In press.

Henry Zentner

"Parental Behavior and Student Attitudes Towards High School Graduation Among Indian and Non-Indian Students in Oregon and Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. VIII No. 4, pp. 211-219, December 1962.

Henry Zentner

"Parental Behavior and Student Attitudes Towards Further Training Among Indian and Non-Indian Students in Oregon and Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 22-30, March, 1963.

Henry Zentner

"Cultural Assimilation Between Indians and Non-Indians in Southern Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 79-86, June, 1963.

Henry Zentner

"Value Congruence Among Indian and Non-Indian High School Students in Southern Alberta," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 168-178, September, 1963.

Henry Zentner

"Factors in the Social Pathology in a North American Indian Society," Anthropologica, New Series, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 119-130, 1963.

Henry Zentner

"Durkheim, Mental Health and Religious Socialization," Sociological Inquiry, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, pp. 92-107, Winter, 1964.

Mildred A. Schwartz

"The Development of Canadian National Identity," doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, Autumn, 1964.

Henry Zentner

"Reference Group Behavior Among High School Students," Alberta Journal of Educational Research, Forthcoming.

Henry Zentner

"Adolescent Society in Southern Alberta," a study in progress which among other things will compare the attitudes and values respecting academic achievement of students attending both public and separate high schools in the city of Calgary, Autumn, 1966.

Henry Zentner,
Marlene Mackie

"The Defector from the Hutterite Colony: A Pilot Study," an M.A. thesis in progress which will enquire into the process of defection from Hutterite Colonies and the problems of adjustment to the larger society posed by such defection, Autumn, 1964.

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Brief #: 780-812

General Faculty Council
University of Alberta

EDMONTON

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. MEMBERSHIP

Academic staff of the university. "Most of the staff do not speak French and have had little contact with the French-speaking part of Canada". (extract from brief) The brief is signed by the President of the University.

2. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

A special committee of the General Faculty Council was set up under Chairmanship of Professor B.E. Walker, Head of the Department of Educational Foundations. The brief was subsequently approved by the Council.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS (ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

p. 11
para. 13 &
Recommendation 1

How do they propose to measure the "need for communication in both English and French"?

p. 12
Recommendation 2

What do they mean by an "incentive for those... - interested in developing their bilingual capabilities? How would they safeguard the rights of those long-term civil servants who were unilingual?

p. 13
Recommendation 4

Mass Communications.

When they suggest an interchange of programmes of the French and English networks do they mean exchange in the original language or in translation?

p. 13
Recommendation 9

When they say that "daily newspapers should be urged to move further along these lines" who is to do the urging? If it is the federal government that they have in mind how do they reconcile this with freedom of the Press?

p. 15
para. 21 &
Recommendation 12

Teaching of French

Could they give more details re the lack of coordination between different levels in the French programme in the schools. What steps do they consider necessary to help overcome the problem?

Handwritten notes and stamps at the bottom of the page, including "11.00" and various illegible markings.

p. 16
para. 23 &
Recommendation 14

Since jurisdiction over education is given by the BNA Act to the provinces do they foresee any jurisdictional difficulties, in the implementation of Recommendation 14.

p. 17
Recommendation 15

Are they here suggesting that information on ethnic groups in school curricula is biased or is it lacking?

p. 36
Recommendation 16

How would they arrange for teacher of the languages of ethnic groups?

p. 36
Recommendation 18

How would they assess the qualifications for public support to the institutions of the other ethnic groups.

p. 37
Recommendation 19

Has any estimate been made of the cost of establishing such an institute, e.g. in the University of Alberta and has thought been given as to how funds would be raised? (cf. similar suggestion in brief of Professor Chavy and Trost of Dalhousie University, 720-100).

p. 37
Recommendation 20

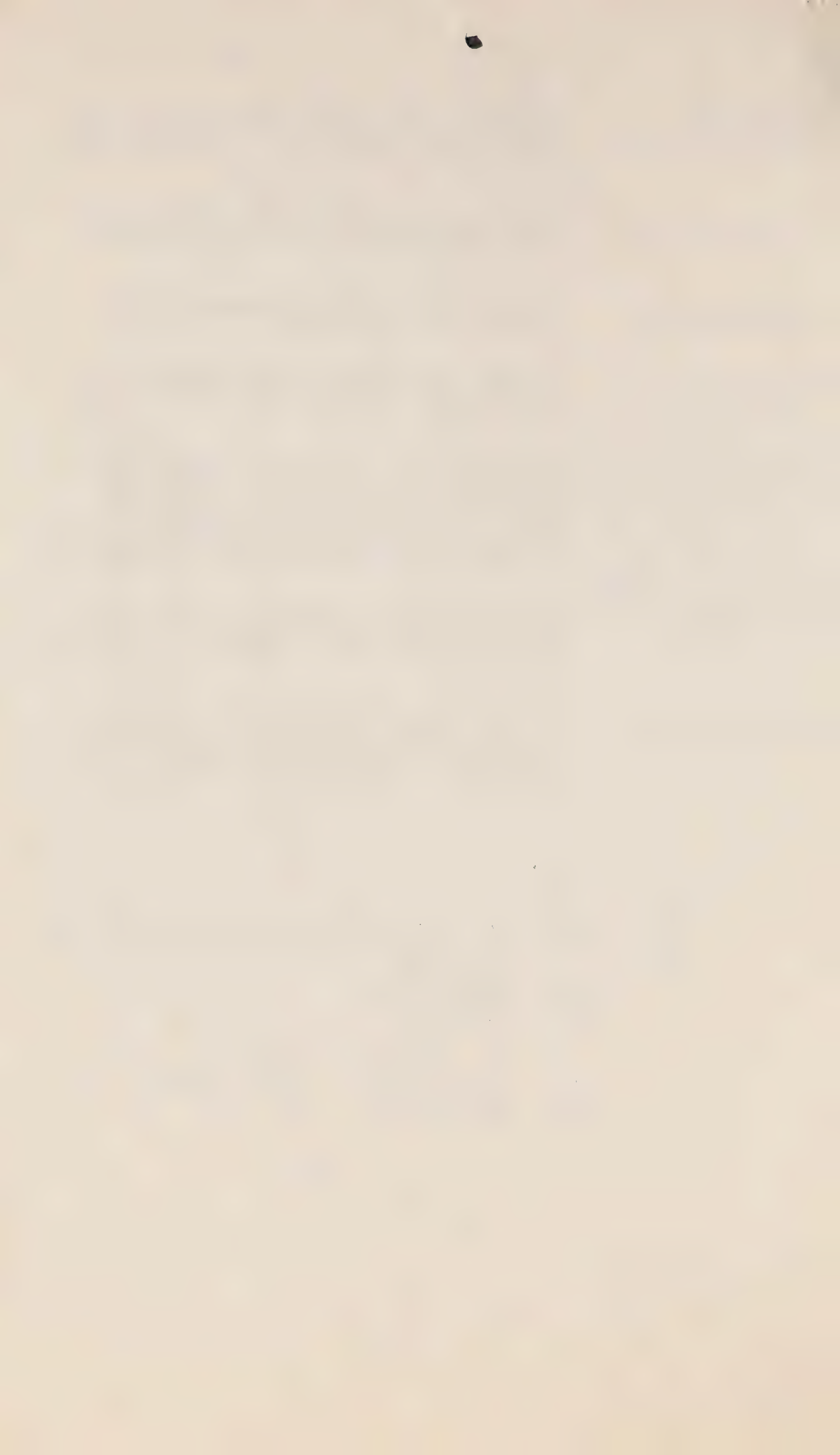
In determining the personnel of the national conference, has thought been given as to how French-speaking Canadians might be attracted to such a body?

p. 37
Recommendation 22

How would they reconcile this recommendation with the growing demands for more and more courses to be crowded into University curricula for example in engineering and scientific courses?

See also p. 100
any more about 2 up
p. 37 French & of
data

See info on appendices + manual re
very helpful
also thoughtful for final



611-21
107

37-457
31

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN CANADA

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to complement the brief submitted by the Toronto Branch of this association and both briefs are to be considered the one and same under the sanction and authority of the Dominion Council of the United Empire Loyalist Association of Canada.

The United Empire Loyalists

The name "United Empire Loyalist" was deliberately conceived as a Mark of Honour to distinguish the Loyalists from other racial elements and settlers in British North America. The original use of the name was first in Boston in 1775 when General Gage suggested the formation of an organization known as "The Loyalists' Association" on the principle of unity of the Empire. Subsequently Lord Dorchester in 1789 presented an order-in-council before the Council at Quebec in which he expressed a personal desire to place a mark of honour upon the families who had joined the Royal Standard before 1783 and had sacrificed their lands and fortunes. The Mark of Honour "U.E." was granted to be placed after the names of the Loyalists and their descendants. Dorchester reported this in his report to Grenville 27th May, 1790. The honour was confirmed by a proclamation by John Graves Simcoe in 1796 and was followed by a similar proclamation by Peter Russell, President of the Council, at York in 1798. Later Lt. Governor Francis Gore made a proclamation ordering a more complete list of the U.E.L.s and stated that the children of the original Loyalists were entitled "to reap the fruits of the Loyalty of their Fathers". The Parliament of Canada sanctioned the use of this designation on 27th May, 1914. The above outline of the meaning of the term "U.E." is given to dispel any doubts as to its authenticity as a distinctively Canadian honour.

A short history of the role of the Loyalists in the American Revolution and their further settlement in North America is necessary to qualify the opinions of this association on language and culture in Canada. It has been estimated by some writers that there are at least three million people of Loyalist descent in Canada. A great many of the citizens of the United States are definitely of Loyalist background for fully one-third were opposed to the revolt while one-third was passive. The subject is so long and complex that it invites the attention of sincere and dedicated historians in order to destroy the monstrous myths that have been created surrounding the men and events of the Revolutionary period in North America. The Europeans, the people who are not of colonial ancestry, often belittle the pioneers of this nation and this continent for reasons that can be best summed up as "sour grapes" or pure jealousy. It is interesting to note that these people are those who denounce a vague state known as "colonialism" and would venture to advise us how to be Canadians! Washington Irving refers to similar circumstances in the U.S. when he compares the Old Dutch to the newcomers when he said in his Knickerbocker History of New York: "What a piece of work is here, between these mushrooms of an hour, and these mushrooms of a day!"

How could the forces of revolution succeed if the majority of the colonists were actively opposed or indifferent to a cause? There are a number of factors to be considered with this question. The cold observation must be accepted that Washington's forces were not capable of winning an open or major engagement. Had not the French, Spanish, and the Dutch, not aided the disunionists the rebellion would have collapsed in spite of the incompetence or outright treason of General Howe. The casualties

claimed to have been inflicted on the British troops exceeds the number of men employed by the British during the hostilities. There is a somewhat similar situation in the claims of aircraft destroyed in World War II. The German Air Force was destroyed a score of times if the claims of the American Air Force in aircraft destroyed were accepted as valid. The present view that the British forces were composed of foreigners and mercenaries during the revolt is a fabrication. The forces of Washington employed a great number of men who were not Americans by birth as well as Germans, Polish, and the French Army. Indeed, in some engagements the American troops were on the Loyalist side. Lafayette was stunned when he discovered that the rebels faced entire regiments of colonial troops under the British flag. The entire revolutionary movement was carefully planned by a number of men and an organization set up before violence broke out. Even up to the time of the Franklin agreement with the French there were professions of Loyalty to the King by the colonies. All grievances had been redressed before independence was fostered on the colonies by the disunionist element. Fisher's "The American Revolution and the Boer War" hits far closer to the truth than the popular U.S. version of the rebellion. He states; "The revolution was not by any means the pretty social event that the ladies of the so-called "patriotic" societies suppose it to have been. It was, on the contrary, a rank and riotous rebellion against the long-established authority of a nation which had saved us from France, built us up into prosperity, and if she was ruling us today would, I am willing to admit, abolish lynch-law, negro burning, municipal and legislative corruption, and all the other evils about which reformers fret. All that saved this country from complete annihilation was the assistance after 1778 of the French Army, fleet, provisions, clothes,

and loans of money, followed by assistance from Spain, and, at the last moment, by the alliance of Holland, and even with all this assistance the cause was, even as late as the year 1780, generally believed to be a hopeless one. In fact, Washington at this time was prepared to become a guerilla. In case of being further pressed, he said: "We must retire to Augusta County in Virginia. Numbers will repair to us for safety, and we will then try a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Allegheny Mountains." The U.S. has based certain isolationist policies on the statement of Washington concerning "entangling foreign alliances". Few know that the origin of this statement is in reference to the request of the French for the American colonies to reciprocate the aid given them by France. The refusal of Washington to honour the French agreement is consistent with the refusal of the U.S. of that day to honour treaties. The Saratoga Convention was violated when the rebels not only did not parole the captives but attempted to recruit them into the Continental Army. The captives were later moved far into the interior to avoid their rescue by the troops of Howe and Clinton. The "Boston Massacre" of 1770 was a minor incident in which a troop of soldiers under Capt. Preston was molested by a gang of hoodlums led by a man who was part Indian and part Negro. The soldiers were tried by a jury and defended by none other than John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two prominent Whigs. Capt. Preston was acquitted of the charge. Benjamin Franklin's son was the last Royal Governor of New Jersey. Franklin Sr. left his son his lands in Nova Scotia on his death. In all probability the lands had been confiscated and did not exist at the time of the execution of the will. The method by which even disreputable men have been given an unearned position in U.S. history contains a lesson for Canadians who are always being told by ignorant persons that we do not have national heroes or men of note.

Samuel Adams, cousin of John Adams, had as the base of his bitterness towards the mother country, the failure of an enterprise in which paper money was to be the basis of a Land-Bank enterprise. The restrictions placed on paper money by Parliament ruined this business in which Adams' father was involved. Samuel later became a tax collector and was guilty of mishandling these funds so flagrantly that an additional tax was necessary to compensate for the loss. Governor Hutchinson was one of the leading men in dissolving the Adams bank and this won for him the hatred of the Adams family. Hutchinson's allegation that Adams was both a defaulter and an enemy of authority is supported by the letter dated March 13, 1769, in which he asks the Town of Boston to discharge him from his indebtedness to the town from his arrears as tax collector. All the men who were entirely committed to rebellion after all grievances had been redressed seem to have been either bankrupt, smugglers, or slave-owners. There is a fallacy that George Washington stood apart from the men who carried out foul deeds in the name of "liberty". There was, in East Granby, Connecticut, an underground prison far worse than the Black Hole of Calcutta. The hole was a worked-out copper mine known as "Newgate Prison" in which were confined prominent Loyalists under the directions of Washington. A desperate group of prisoners climbed the shaft of this mine in 1781, overpowered the guards and fled with the captured arms. There is no comparison between this prison and the prison ships of the British in which prisoners were exercised, properly bedded, and fed. John Hancock, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was an able smuggler, and his part in the "Boston Tea Party" was more in the interests of the elimination of competition than restricting British trade. Mr. Hancock

was dismissed from his post as treasurer of Harvard College in 1773 for misappropriation of funds to the amount of fifteen thousand and four hundred pounds. Threats and entreaties could not force him to return the money. His heirs made restitution in 1795 in which the college lost five hundred and twenty-six dollars in interest. Paul Revere, son of a Huguenot named "Rivoire", contrary to the poem by Longfellow, did not make a night ride to Concord. Both Revere and his associate Dawes were arrested at Lexington. Revere submitted a bill for his services on every occasion and these are preserved in the Archives at the State House Boston. Revere was a Lt. Col. of artillery in the shameful Penobscot Expedition and he was charged with personal cowardice and tried by court martial. He was not freed from the charge until three years of effort on his behalf and that freedom was not given in good grace. See "The True Story of Paul Revere" by Charles J. Gettemy of Massachusetts.

One of the reatest fallacies of the Revolution is that the Loyalist faction were all members of the Church of England. In fact there was not even an Anglican bishop in North America at the time and the clergy had to undertake the long voyage to England to be ordained. It was not until after the Revolution that an episcopate was established. The Puritans of Massachusetts and the other three New England colonies were so bigoted and dictatorial that all save the Congregationalists were unduly taxed and persecuted. On several occasions the English had to intervene to protect the lives and interests of people such as the Quakers from sadistic cruelties. It is interesting to note that there was greater freedom in the New Netherlands of the Dutch than in the four New England colonies. When Anne Hutchinson was hounded out of the colony she was given sanctuary in New Amsterdam. When she was killed by Indian raiders the Congregationalists rejoiced that God had punished the unrepentant sinner. The objection of the non-Conformists that

an Anglican establishment would mean merger of church and state does not have any foundation whatsoever. The existence of the fanatical sects in New England was as much a theocracy as the government set up by John Calvin in Geneva when he condemned Servetus to the flames. The employment of the Hessians by the English does not in any way mean the rebels were a genuine American force. As stated before, the use of French, Germans, Caledon-Irish, and even Polish soldiers, by Washington, is a matter of record. Lafayette made overtures to the French-Canadians to form a brigade under French officers but was rebuffed. The English asked Holland for the use of the Scotch Brigade then in service of the Estates-General but was refused. Russia was asked for troops but Catherine refused to lease them. How the English were even able to provide any troops or ships to the American conflict with all Europe in arms is a feat in itself. The numbers of troops used in all the British actions is noteworthy. Howe trounced Washington in every engagement but did not follow up his victories on Long Island or Brandywine. Washington was refused food and fodder in the Loyalist provinces of New York, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and the Carolinas. His men starved at Valley Forge because the farmers would not provide food without the use of force. The French aid which aided the bankrupt Congress set the forces loose that caused the French Revolution. Marie Antoinette, a strong admirer of the American rebels little knew that that affection would cost her the price of her head. The writings of Thomas Paine led to the downfall of France. Greater freedom existed in the American colonies than in France or Europe. Some colonies had as good or better government than they have today. When Patrick Henry exclaimed "give me liberty or give me death" he had the option of both.

Conclusion

The influx of the Loyalists into Canada has become the mainstay of an independent Canada. Slavery was abolished by the Loyalist Assembly of Upper Canada in 1793 - years ahead of the British and the Americans. Methodism, the Church of England, the Society of Friends, and other new

institutions arrived with the Loyalists or strengthened those that already existed. Quakers and Hessians by the way are not considered Loyalists. The former did not bear arms and the latter were required to pay 5 pounds for their land. During the War of 1812 the Quakers were required to pay a tax in lieu of military service. Some Quaker families, such as the Dorlands, were split by branches who did take up arms while others did not during the Revolution. Roman Catholic representation among the Loyalists was considerable to the extent that there was a corps of Catholic volunteers. The settlements were where possible based on race and religion. The Dutch Reformed Church of the Dutch people did not find establishment in Canada perhaps because of the split in the church in Jersey and New York on the eve of the Revolution. Settlement by regiments resulted in some areas, particularly the Bay of Quinte region, being occupied by former soldiers of famous units. Nova Scotia, Quebec, and New Brunswick, received large settlements. Some prominent French land-owners attempted to coax transient Loyalists to settle on their properties in Quebec. Mention of this is made in correspondence relating to the Bay of Quinte settlements. The War of 1812 would have been lost had it not been for the presence of the Loyalists. Certain traitors such as Wilcox and Mallory, American-born members of the Assembly, led bands of renegades into Southern Ontario during the U.S. occupation of Niagara. These men were brought to justice by loyal troops and a number were hanged at Ancaster and Quebec. The Rebellion of 1837 and the Fenian Raids were met with a similar devotion to duty and respect for law. The elements of both French and English-speaking Canada stood together in every crisis that has beset Canada. What then is the problem of Canadians towards a national identity? The fault seemingly lies in the failure of Canadians of colonial origin to create a norm of citizenship and to demand due tribute to our heritage of honour. We appear to have in the Canada of today two classes

of citizens:- the Canadian and the Canadian citizen. The divided loyalties of churches and educational systems of this land promote and create this paradox. The bickerings over flags, titles, and provincial rights, are absurd and childish. We need not strive to create a Canadian spirit by destruction of our heritage to suit the foreginer. The Canadian tradition exists at the present day and needs only the outlets now denied it. The successive governments of the past decade have been anything but autonomous Canadian governments. The creation of the United Nations has provided the politician with a garbage can for his responsibilities. There is an amazing resemblance to these shirkers in Shakespeare's Henry V when he mused to himself before the Battle of Agincourt:

"Upon the king! let us our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives,
Our children, and our sins, lay on the king!"

The United Nations appears to be little more than a 20th Century version of the Children's Crusade. The attainment of national integrity and respect cannot go hand-in-hand with internationalism and anti-nuclearism. Canadians must face reality in this precarious age. The extremists who would destroy all vestiges of the past are in error. Did not the British pass and honour the Quebec Act to guarantee the religion and language of the French of Quebec? Did not the English colonies list this as a grievance against the mother country? Sober and informed thinking is essential in all Canadian projects affecting the people as a whole. We have failed to make full use of the C.B.C. and certain persons have produced such programmes as "The Open Grave" a parody on the Crucifixion and offensive to every Christian. All the great stories of the heroism of French explorers - as well as the Acadians - are largely in English. The only conclusion that can be drawn from our view of French and English Canada is that unity of purpose has always existed but has not been expressed. Let us now begin!

-63622

TITLE: Brief of the United Empire Loyalists' Association
of Canada (Toronto Branch)

AUTHORS: D. John De Mille, President
James P. Lovekin, Immediate Past President,
Melissa E. Glassford (Mrs Ross), Genealogist.

Brief of 4 pages ; no recommendation

REMARKS OF ANALYST: The main burden of this short brief is to question the assumptions of the Commission's terms of reference through an analysis of the ethnic composition of the Loyalist Immigration - The "Founders of Upper Canada, and in a larger sense of English-speaking Canada". The authors appear to question the use of the term "The two founding races" and the words of the Order-In-Council (1963-1106) which "evidently assures that the origins of Canada neatly bifurcate into French and Anglo-Saxon roots, that the role of these two races in the original settlement of the country entitles them to special consideration with peripheral consideration to latecomers".

"The loyalists represented a cross-section of colonial society and of the different national elements within the American colonies," including "Six-Nation" Indians, Jews, Spanish protestants by origin, a number of free negroes, Swiss, Germans, Dutch, Danes, French, etc.

The conclusion is that "quite evidently, the origins of Canada are not bicultural as the Order-In-Council assumes, but multicultural. If the Order-In-Council, proposes special consideration to "founding races," then such deference is owing to all the other "races" who were here from the beginning..." But the consequence would be "balkanisation of the nation."

Therefore, the authors plead that the case for biculturalism "might better rest on present realities than on an historical misconception".

ATT.: RESEARCH - Verify the validity of the statistics offered in the genealogical appendix, -based on random selection of 705 names.

European Origins: 587 known, 118 unknown

Germany	- 162	Switzerland	- 4
Scotland	- 133	Denmark	- 2
England	- 104	Sweden	- 2
Ireland	- 69	West Indies	- 1
Wales	- 26	Negro	- 2
France	- 33		
Netherlands	- 49		

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

PARAGRAPHS

RECOMMENDATIONS: None

BRIEF: "Introduction" -----1
 "Records of the U.E.L. (Toronto Branch)"
 Qualifications for membership-----2
 "Assumptions of the Commission"-----3
 "Composition of the Loyalist Immigration"-----4 - 5
 "Conclusions"-----6
 "References"-----7
 "Summary" of Genealogical Appendix-----8

"The Genealogical Appendix"-----49 pages

This Appendix is separately bound and purports to show "the size of the several elements in the Loyalist Migrations". Prepared by the U.E.L. Genealogist Mrs. Ross Glassford it is based on an analysis of 705 names from records compiled by herself. A copy of the appendix has been deposited with the Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario.

The Manitoba Conference

and

The Winnipeg Presbytery

of

The United Church of Canada

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Winnipeg Presbytery has been authorized to put forward some suggestions on this matter on behalf of the United Church within the bounds of Manitoba Conference as well as Metropolitan Winnipeg. It believes that the ideas expressed are representative of the convictions held by our people. Nevertheless, we emphasize that on such an issue as bilingualism and biculturalism no court of the United Church can speak with the assurance that it expresses the agreed mind and conviction of its constituency. The conciliar nature of the United Church system of government makes this impossible, not to mention the measure of autonomy accorded to individual congregations and the freedom of prophesy claimed by its ministry.

2. DEFINITION OF THE TERM "CULTURE"

We believe that a careful definition of the word "culture" would be helpful to all Canadians. Let us be clear what we are talking about. In our opinion the word may be used in at least two ways - in a wide sense or in a narrow sense. The first sense is illustrated by the anthropologist's use of it to describe a certain pattern of life which influences the aims and habits of men. So we speak of the culture of Western Europe to describe a way of life and thought which is rooted in Europe's past and has now spread to other parts of the world. We would suggest that in this sense of the word both French and non-French citizens of Canada share a common cultural inheritance and that this fact should not be lost sight of in the present discussions.

3. In the narrower sense, the word "culture" refers to those arts, sciences and educational processes of a community which adorn and enrich the life of that community and do not merely preserve and increase it. We believe it includes also the unofficial societies and associations which exist to promote ends for which men and women are greatly concerned but which are not strictly

necessary for the physical or political existence. We suggest that it is in this sense that we use the word "culture" when discussing the matter of "biculturalism" in Canada. The main differences between French and English speaking Canadians can be described as a difference in "the arts, sciences and educational processes of a community which adorn and enrich the life of that community", and is related to the "unofficial societies and associations which exist to promote ends for which men and women are greatly concerned." Therefore, while we maintain that both French and English have their roots in one broad, common cultural background, we accept the fact that ^{there} are differences which admit the use of the term "biculturalism" in the narrower sense. We emphasize again, however, that there are dangers in stressing the differences so much that we virtually deny our common cultural tradition. In our judgment the latter is of much greater significance than any of those distinctive cultural aspects that are peculiarly French or English.

4. THE DISTINCTIVE MARKS OF OUR WIDER CULTURAL INHERITANCE

While there may be many ways to describe the main characteristics of our broad Western, democratic, liberal culture, of which both French and English share, we suggest the following four distinctive marks:

5. I. The Pursuit of Truth:

This assumes that there is an objective truth about things to be discovered; that it can be reached and ought to be sought. European culture has had as its intellectual ingredient the belief in man's power to overcome ignorance, eliminate bias and to arrive at the essential nature of truth. This conviction stands in opposition to the view that there is no objective truth but that all beliefs are a form of propaganda - something which is useful to a man or group struggling for power or position. This mark of our Western European culture is at the root of the accepted 'habit of mind' that is enshrined in the attitudes of our people and in our legislation which ensures freedom of opinion, of speech, and of the Press. This same attitude prompts us to the desire for toleration and freedom of opinion and provides that

climate in which diversity in variety may not only survive but be encouraged. It is the distinctive mark of both cultures in Canada which should now be emphasized to ensure a reasonable recognition of the essential differences involved and a willingness on the part of both groups to not only tolerate, but respect the distinctive contributions of each.

6. II. The Recognition of Right:

A second characteristic of our common European culture is the conviction of a certain rightness for men and things and actions, which constitute a ground of appeal from the self-interested desires of men and the conflicts of power they bring about. It assumes the position of an absolute good or evil, even though codes of conduct are only relative and often misleading applications of the so-called absolute.

7. This means, in philosophical terms, that right and wrong have a metaphysical force and are not just serviceable conceptions in the struggle of life. Hence in our cultural tradition existence is not in itself justification for continuance. Neither is might, size, success, or power, the criteria for what is right. In this doctrine superior force or mere success in perpetuating itself is not the cultural criterion which justifies. There must be something that reflects the rightness of the fact or the event which commends it as good. This characteristic mark of our common cultural inheritance may not be as strong in the present era as it once was, but it is, nonetheless, implicit in the way of life of both "cultures" in Canada. This emphasis should suggest to both French and English speaking Canadians that there is not, or ought not to be anything sacrosanct about the Act of Confederation itself, and that both must continue to hold uppermost the common concern to secure that right settlement in agreement and law which will provide the security and well-being of all the peoples of this nation. Both those of French and English descent should be constantly mindful of the fact that since the signing of Confederation a great host of

people from many races and from all parts of the world have come to share in this nation. They are part of our common life and now constitute approximately one-third of our total population. These citizens, many of whom were not only urged to come to Canada but encouraged to remain and preserve the best in their own culture, find it difficult to understand why their lives must be moulded to either a French or English culture. They are loyal citizens of a nation which has all the aspects of a pluralistic or multicultural pattern and they rightly resent any concerted effort to force them into a rigidly bicultural mould. It is obvious that those Canadians who are of either French or British descent must, in order to be loyal to their common cultural tradition, not only respect each other and the rights of each, but be as concerned to respect the positions and rights of those other Canadians who will never really belong to either, and who will, in time, blend into that which is neither French nor English. The United Church of Canada exercises an extensive ministry to a substantial number of these people in both Manitoba and across the nation, and, as a Church, we are acutely aware of the necessity of these citizens having the continued assurance that they belong to Canada and that, as a nation and a people, we welcome and encourage the distinctive contributions they can make to this country.

8. III. The Natural Law:

The third characteristic mark of European culture is the acknowledged acceptance of the Natural Law, which recognition grows out of the second characteristic which has been set forth above. We, who are heirs to the Judaic-Christian inheritance, maintain that there is a Natural Law in the constitution of existence which can be apprehended by man, and to which appeal can be made against the positive law of any particular state or legislature. The law is above the State: the State is the embodiment and not the source of the law. The ruler is subject to universal justice; he interprets it and administers it but his will does not create it. The most obvious

application of this principle is the acceptance among democratic people that the State exists for the people, not the people for the State, or that institutions exist for people, and not vice versa. Hence, both in English and French cultural patterns, there has been a common concern to maintain equality before the law and the determination to uphold the separation of the judiciary from the executive function in the administration of justice.

9. We would maintain that this principle is of utmost significance to all freedom-loving peoples and never so much so as at present. Hence we deplore the words and actions of any Canadian, who, out of narrow provincial concerns, stresses those differences between the French and the English in areas of race and language, at the expense of the acknowledgement of the common commitment of both peoples to a higher and more significant principle. The enactment of the British North America Act provided for equality of the French and English language in Canada. The legal rights of both parties were preserved as far as languages were concerned and still are. We are persuaded that beyond such legal safeguards it is difficult to go and certainly impossible to ensure that a legal agreement will guarantee an equal use of both languages. The principle of the Natural Law has many difficulties as it is related to political application and the B.N.A. is a good case in point.
10. The simple truth is that in the almost one hundred years since that agreement was formed the great majority of Canadians have lived in the great areas of this country where daily commerce did not require them to use any other language than English and where a person with a limited knowledge of French had virtually no opportunity to exercise his talent. While we acknowledge the embarrassment of English speaking Canada over its inability to be proficient in the French language and accept the humiliation that goes with this deficiency, we have, in all honesty, to admit that we do not believe that this situation can

be expected to change greatly in the years ahead. We would urge every step that might be taken to improve the teaching of the French language in our schools. We think that there might be tremendous advantages if we were to revolutionize the entire method of teaching French and instead of concentrating on vocabulary and grammar, we teach to provide oral competency.

11. However, we still must be realistic enough to recognize that there are vast numbers of Canadians who, even if they were better taught, would maintain no fluency unless their daily existence required the use of French. This is highly improbable. This being the case it is equally important to recognize that since circumstances related to being a Canadian for many do not of necessity dictate the common use of a second language, it is absurd to assume that the second language can be forced upon citizens by either educational or legislative means.

12. It is relevant to add that the United Church of Canada includes French speaking congregations, and that it has been concerned that the members of these congregations should be enabled to preserve both their Protestant faith and their French language and culture. For years a residential school was maintained at Pointe aux Trembles, on the Island of Montreal, staffed by French Protestants and where French was the language of instruction, of worship and of play. After years of patient effort the Montreal Presbytery of the United Church was able to persuade the Montreal Protestant School Board that it had a responsibility to provide classes for French Protestants in their own language.

13. IV. A Universal Character in All Human Beings:

There is something common to men as part of their essential nature. As Christians we would explain this universal characteristic as deriving from the fact that all men are "made in the image of God" and have the mark of divinity upon them. This fact, which singles out man from all the rest of creation, calls for a proper moral

respect for all individual persons. It recognizes an inherent worth in each man which differences of race, class, sex, do not in any way obscure and it demands the organization of social, economic and political life in structures which ensures that all men shall have the maximum protection against those persons or forces in society which would discriminate against or destroy his rights and worth as a person.

14. This equality of worth to all men before their Creator must naturally in a free society find equality before the law which protects an individual's rights to preserve his body, found a family, to associate freely with his fellow citizens, privately to own his own material goods and to pursue his own pattern of worship, according to his conscience. We would point out that such a fundamental principle of human worth is not to be confused with the popular principle of egalitarianism which assumes that all men are equal by abstracting humanity from real persons and by refusing to recognize the concrete and useful inequalities in men. There are inequalities among men which derive from birth, inheritance, geography, etc., which may work for personal advantage or disadvantage. These cannot be ignored. Neither must they obscure the universal element in all men which demands respect regardless of race, class, language, birth, etc.

15. This being so, and being a conviction shared from a common cultural inheritance, both as French and English in Canada, we must zealously guard against any word or action or inflection which suggests a superior or inferior people. Whether by divine plan or by the accident of history, the peoples of two cultures were the dominant group in the founding of this nation. They established a working basis in law for their existence as the people of two cultures within one nation. In so far as this experiment has been successful, it has been so because of a willingness to recognize the essential worth of all the individuals and their inherent rights. Where we failed, our failures have arisen out of the political manoeuvring of leaders or groups who have learned how

to manipulate individuals and groups in both segments of the nation to their own selfish ends or where prejudice, arrogance, or hatred, has been aroused against others. Linked with this has been the distressing apathy, apparent in both segments of the total national community, which refuses to be seriously concerned about the well-being of the other. Collective self-interest, especially as it finds expression in racial or language groups, is not pleasant to observe and it can pervert, if not destroy, the fabric of the body politic.

16. It would be naive to imagine that such apathy can be easily overcome or that it will disappear with the passage of time. Our only hope to circumvent its debilitating power is to hold before our people the goal of national unity -- a unity in which the essential rights of all our people can be protected and in which each cultural group will have the maximum opportunity constant with national well-being, to influence our total communal life. In essence, it is our belief that the survival of cultural influence in a free society must, in the last analysis, depend upon the inherent truths enshrined in the culture itself and the power of such to influence and shape the minds and spirits of men. We are apprehensive of any legislative enactment that would tend to constrict or restrain individuals within prescribed standards of speech or behaviour.

17. In view of the foregoing be it resolved

- I. That we pledge ourselves, as we would ask all our fellow Canadians to do likewise, to work for the strengthening and the preservation of our national unity. We believe this can best be done by emphasizing those aspects of our common cultural inheritance which unite us, and by refusing to allow peripheral differences to gain such proportions as to be divisive. This we believe will only be possible if all Canadians, of whatever race or creed, learn to exercise a greater degree of tolerance and understanding than is presently manifest among us.

18. II. That we call upon all agencies of law enforcement, whether at the municipal, provincial or national level, to exercise the greatest care and concern to restrict extremists, of whatever group, who seek to use undemocratic measure to achieve their ends. We believe that our democratic institutions, through which human liberty and freedom are safeguarded, can be sullied and subverted by such irresponsible actions especially if these measures are allowed to gain popular consent and favor.
19. III. That we lend our support to every effort that will improve the teaching of the French language in our schools, universities and colleges. We do not consent to an artificial imposition of the French language and its literature upon those who have neither the disposition nor the desire to become bilingual. We believe that both the French language and its literature must be given an honoured place in our educational system and that all our people be assisted and encouraged to obtain the fullest knowledge possible of both. At the same time we would urge our French-speaking fellow citizens to be as equally concerned to ensure that the English language and its literature receive equal consideration in those areas in Canada which are predominantly French.
20. IV. That we commend to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism the adoption of the principle that survival of the enduring values of any particular culture in a free society must be based upon the inherent truths enshrined in that culture itself and the power of such to influence the minds and spirits of men. Hence any restrictive devices imposed to safeguard particular cultural patterns are in essence artificial and unreal and these will inevitably bring with them undesirable consequences. We believe that our fellow French Canadian citizens should have the fullest opportunity under the law, and with every possible constitutional means, to be as persuasive as they can find it possible to become in influencing the character of our total national life. We ask this for our own people and for every group that comprises our nation whether the foundations of that group be in religion or race or colour.

TITLE: "Bilingualism and Biculturalism"

AUTHOR: The Manitoba Conference and
The Winnipeg Presbytery of
The United Church of Canada

Brief of 9 pages; No formal recommendation

REMARKS OF ANALYST:

This brief regards the Canadian problem in the light of the Judaec-Christian principles, as expressed in our political and cultural way of life. Substantial ideas are difficult to distill and the brief requires careful reading.

French Canadian citizens should have the fullest opportunity under the law, and with every possible constitutional means, to be as persuasive as possible in influencing the character of our national life.

ATTACHMENT

Note discussion of meaning of "culture", Pages
1 - 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

PAGES

RECOMMENDATIONS:

BRIEF:

"Introduction"	1
"Definition of the Term 'Culture'"	1 - 2
"The Distinctive Marks of Our Wider Cultural Heritage"	2 - 8
"The Pursuit of Truth"	2 - 3
"The Recognition of Right"	3 - 4
"The Natural Law"	4 - 6
"A Universal Character in All Human Beings"	6 - 8
Resolutions	8 - 9

SUMMARY

"Introduction"

Page 1

The Winnipeg Presbytery has been authorized to submit suggestions on behalf of the United Church within Manitoba as well as Metropolitan Winnipeg.

It should be emphasized that no court of the United Church can assure that it expresses the opinion of its constituency.

"Definition of the Term 'Culture'"

Pages 1 - 2

In the wide sense, both French and non-French citizens share a common cultural inheritance. In the narrower sense, "culture" refers to those arts etc. which enrich the life of the community, including unofficial societies and associations which exist to promote interests rather than necessities. The latter sense must be used in Canada, but there are dangers in stressing the differences to that point of virtually denying our common cultural tradition.

"The Distinctive Marks of Our Wider Cultural Inheritance"

Pages 2 - 8

"The Pursuit of Truth"

Pages 2 - 3

The belief in objective truth allows for our habit of mind towards freedom of opinion, of speech and of the press as well as toleration. Diversity in variety will not be tolerated but encouraged.

"The Recognition of Right"

Pages 3 - 4

Right and wrong have a metaphysical force and are not mere serviceable conceptions. Superior force therefore is not the cultural

criterion. Such a conception is common to both cultural groups in Canada and should lead to the conclusion that there ought not to be anything "sacrosanct" in the B.N.A. Act itself. Since the act was signed a great influx of immigrants has come and now represents one-third of the population. They must be assured that they belong to Canada and that their distinctive contributions are welcome.

"The Natural Law"

Pages 4 - 6

European culture acknowledges Natural Law which we, heirs to the Judaeo-Christian inheritance, also maintain. Thus the State exists for the people, not vice-versa. Thus, the actions of those who stress the differences between the French and the English at the expense of the common commitment of both are deplored.

The B.N.A. Act provided for the equality of the French and English languages in Canada. Beyond such legal safeguards, which have been kept, it is difficult to go. A purely legal agreement will never ensure equality.

The unfamiliarity of English Canadians with French is a result of economic and demographic factors, not likely to change in the years ahead. Every step should be taken to improve the teaching of French, concentrating on oral competency. However lack of opportunity to use the other language would result in no possibility of fluency.

The Montreal Presbytery of the United Church has been able to persuade the Montreal Protestant School Board of the necessity of providing classes for French Protestants in French.

"A Universal Character in All Human Beings"

Pages 6 - 8

Natural equality of all men before God must find political expression. Failure has been the result of faulty political expression; we must not allow the idea of superiority of any one group. Collective self-interest, in racial or language groups, can destroy the body politic.

The goal of national unity must be held before our people.

Resolutions

Pages 8 - 9

-To work for strengthening national unity through a greater degree of tolerance.

-To encourage all agencies of law enforcement to restrict extremism which uses undemocratic measures to secure its ends.

-To lend support to every effort to improve the teaching of French language. However no arbitrary imposition of French. All those seeking to obtain the fullest knowledge of both cultures should be encouraged.

-That no artificial restrictions be placed upon any one to safeguard a particular culture. That French Canadian citizens should have the fullest opportunity under the law, and with every possible constitutional means, to be as persuasive as possible in influencing the character of our national life.

The Manitoba Conference
and the Winnipeg Pres-
bytery of the United
Church of Canada.

WINNIPEG

A. INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION

1. AUTHORIZATION

The Winnipeg Presbytery has been authorized to submit suggestion on behalf of the United Church within Manitoba. However: "no court of the United Church can assure that it expresses the opinion of its constituency".

2. OBJECTIVES

Express Christian principles in policy regarding this brief viewpoint of Judaeas - Christian principles.

3. HOW BRIEF WAS PREPARED

Information not available.

B. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

PROGRAMME AND LIAISON SECTION

p. 8 para. 17 You believe that Canadians must exercise a greater degree of tolerance in order to strengthen national unity. What specific role in this do you see the churches taking?

p.9 para. 19 You support "every effort that will improve the teaching of the French language in our schools". Do you have specific criticisms of the way French is now taught in the schools? Have you suggestions regarding the way in which it should be improved?

p. 9 para.20 You say you are opposed to "Any restrictive devices imposed to safeguard particular cultural patterns". I take it that you would be opposed for example to any legislation designed to give further sanctions the official use of French language or protect the rights of French-speaking Canadians. Is this correct? If so - do you not feel that legislation is sometimes necessary to promote equality where, without it, a minority group might be left in an inferior position? In other words "laws can also educate".

TITLE:

AUTHOR: THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

Brief of ...35. pages ;13.. recommendation(s)

REMARKS OF ANALYST: All parts of the brief are interesting, as well as the information on French Protestantism in the Appendix. P.34(par. 68) states that the matters dealt with in paragraph 3 of the terms of reference on the Royal Commission "involve aspects which go beyond provincial jurisdiction and concern the whole country".
Notice: For the sake of brevity the summary cannot always do justice to the diplomacy of the expression of the brief.
The brief follows the order of the terms of reference of the Commission.

ATT.: RESEARCH

- 1) Is paragraph 18 (p.11) (...no one seriously proposes...) invalidated by statements from certain ethnic groups? (In briefs or elsewhere.)
- 2) P.28, par.55: to verify whether 1) McGee and 2) Galt, and not French-Canadians were the authors of 1) the provisions for the guarantees of the Protestant or Catholic minority (in Quebec Resolutions) and 2) the provisions in the London Resolutions providing for Federal Remedial Orders and Remedial Acts.
- 3) Verify: p. 29, par. 58 : the statistics on the R.C.'s outside Quebec.

<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS:</u>	<u>PAGES</u>
RECOMMENDATIONS: (English)	3-6
(French)	6-8
BRIEF:	
INTRODUCTION.....	1-3
COMMENTS ON THE TERMS OF REFERENCE.....	
On the Introductory paragraph	9-15
On the first numbered paragraph.....	15-18
On the second numbered paragraph.....	18-27
On the third numbered paragraph.....	27-35
"APPENDICES"	
Biographical Sketch of Commission Members.....	i
French Protestantism in Canada.....	ii
The Contribution of the French Protestants to the Cultural Life of Canada.....	13
Education.....	15
The Ministry of the Church to Ethnic Groups....	17

SUMMARY

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA (p.2,3)

-founded: in 1925

-members: 2,633,634 in 5,763 congregations

of French origin: 38,864 in Ontario

11,424 in B.C. (1/6 of the French population)

9,154 in Quebec. .

The rate of French people in the United Church of Canada is increasing. The General Council of the United Church of Canada appointed a Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. List of the members of this Commission : p.3, par.8 and in Appendix, p.i. The brief was submitted by Dr. Eugene A. Forsey on behalf of the Commission.

INTRODUCTION (p.1,2)

The United Church of Canada: strongly supports the Royal Commission for reasons of Church tradition and of interest in the welfare of Canada. For example, in the case of French-Canadians: support of the "Institut Français Evangélique", in Montreal; publication of the French language journal "Credo."

COMMENTS ON THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION

On the Introductory paragraph of the terms of reference p.9-15 (par.11-27)

- (I) p.9,10,11 Canadian Constitution explicitly provides for a certain degree of bilingualism and biculturalism. Quotations of the B.N.A. Act to support this view: par. 14-18. No one seriously proposes that French or English languages or systems of law should be deprived of their constitutional position.
- (II) p.11,12 Hope that the Commission will take seriously its task relative to the contribution made by "the other ethnic groups". The public statements of the Co-chairmen should be repeated for the quieting of these groups' fears that

their culture will be discriminated. It is not individual bilingualism the Commission is concerned with, but public, political, bilingualism.

See RECOMMENDATION 1.

(III) p.12-14

Not happy about the term "founding races"

a) "races": should be translated by "peoples" (par.21)

b) "founding": we do think that the Government meant that the British or the French are better than the others-but the British and the French did the founding and the others did not. When "the others" came to Canada, the institutions had been shaped by the French and/or the British. No denial of other peoples' immense contribution to Canada but this contribution does not give their law or language the same constitutional position as the English' or French'. See RECOMMENDATION 2.

(IV) p.14,15

"Equal partnership": should not be taken in the strict arithmetical sense. Should mean that Canadians of French speech should have the same opportunities to share in running the country as Canadians of English speech. See RECOMMENDATION 3.

(V) p.15

Terms of reference plainly exclude separation and any proposal for a Canada 1) as a league of ten almost sovereign states or 2) of two almost sovereign states-Quebec and the rest of the country. In any such league, bilingualism and biculturalism could at most be restricted to the central government and Legislature and the small central Civil Service.

On the "First numbered paragraph" (VI) p.15-18 (par. 27-34)

No detailed information on bilingualism in the federal administration available but in certain respects (money, stamps, cheques) there is more bilingualism than in 1867-though this is not an adequate expression of bilingualism.

The right to be understood in one's language in the federal administration - requirement for senior officials of Government to be bilingual - the methods of selecting such officials should take

account of the differences in English and French culture: See
RECOMMENDATIONS 4,5,6.

But do not suggest that a specific proportion of
officials should necessarily be French-speaking or English-speaking.

On the second numbered paragraph (VII) p.18-27 (par.34-52)

- a) There is a long-standing French Protestant tradition in Canada.
See Appendix: (French Protestantism in Canada).
- b) Great need for English-and French-Canadians to know more of
each other. Then differences would be about realities, not
myths. Commission has already inspired a variety of exchanges.
The efforts in that sense of the C.B.C. and the National Film
Board praised. Two good examples of biculturalism: the
Dictionary of National Biography U. of Toronto and Université
Laval); the Laurentian University of Sudbury.
In this field of common achievements, even more could be done
e.g. by National Museum etc. To break the walls good translations
are indispensable. The Commission should recommend that funds
should be provided to subsidize translation of the best of each
literature. Also: need for bilingual "speakers". Encouragement
of organized tours with the widest possible personal contacts
between French and English- speaking. See RECOMMENDATION 7.
- c) Churches can do much to promote exchanges between the two
cultures, especially in the new atmosphere brought by the
ecumenical movement. Need of a concerted preaching, in church
and out, of the "reconciling word". See RECOMMENDATION 8.
- d) The "other" cultures: 1) the contribution of the Indians
and Eskimos, who were here before others. 2) the people
of other Asian and European origins. They have no desire
to have their law or languages made official nor to have
ethnic schools financed by public funds. But they believe
that, in order to make even greater contributions than they
already have to Canada, they need reasonable opportunities
for preserving the culture of their ancestors. Someways
must be found to permit teaching of their language in

schools where there is a substantial group of citizens who want it. (cf. par.51). See RECOMMENDATION 9. Recognition of the serious practical problems involved.

On the "third numbered paragraph" (VIII) p.27-35 (par.52-70)

(VIII) a) Adequate French education facilities for French-Canadians do not exist outside Quebec. For French-speaking Protestants the problem exists in all the provinces. In Quebec it is difficult for a French-speaking Protestant child to get a French education and in the other provinces, it is impossible. This is a loss not only to French Canada but to the whole of Canada as well, since French-speaking Protestants could help in interpreting the English-speaking Protestant and the French-speaking R. Catholic groups one to another.

b) No constitutional guarantees for English schools in Quebec, or for French schools outside Quebec. Where schools are protected: denominational guarantees (Catholic or Protestant) only. (cf. 55-59) The McGee and Billings cases concerned more the practical much more than with the theoretical. At Confederation time, in Quebec: the majority of Protestants were English and the R.C. English had no doubt the French (R.C.) would let them have their schools. Outside Quebec: the majority of R.C. was not French-speaking. The French R.C. were geographically concentrated. It did not work out the way the Fathers expected. Some French-Canadians have suggested the amendment of the B.N.A. Act in order to provide constitutional guarantees for "French" and "English" schools, as well as "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic". Impracticable for several reasons:

Par. 60-61: History of the Manitoba School Case. Now, as then, no government would commit suicide in defending a minority against a provincial legislature. The unwritten "convention" is that amendments affecting the jurisdiction need the consent of all provinces. Belief that no such amendment would get unanimous consent. Therefore, necessary changes in provincial

educational systems must be worked out by discussions with the provinces. See RECOMMENDATION 10.

- Regarding education for the French: "the wishes of the local French-speaking Canadians, who know the local situation should take precedence over those of French-speaking from outside. A theoretically imperfect arrangement which satisfies the local French, and works, will be better than a theoretically perfect one which does not." See RECOMMENDATION 11.
- Possibility of French public schools (not necessarily R.C.) See RECOMMENDATION 12.
- Need to provide a common approach to history, literature, geography. Par. 66.
- Need to provide better facilities for French-Canadians to learn English, and particularly for English-Canadians to learn French.
- No able, technically well trained young Canadian must find himself excluded from a career in the Public Service of Canada simply because his part of the country does not give him opportunities to become bilingual. See RECOMMENDATION 13a.
"That is one compelling reason why the matters dealt with in paragraph 3 of your terms of reference, though constitutionally under provincial jurisdiction, in fact involve aspects which go beyond provincial jurisdiction and concern the whole country."
- c) The cross-fertilization of the two cultures will enrich Canada. Neither French or English have made full use of the cultural possibilities of Canada. Need of better understanding of each other. To attain this: leaders of opinion need a reasonable knowledge of both languages.

CA 121

BACKGROUND PAPERS

428 750-452

The United Church
of CanadaOTTAWAA INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATION1. MEMBERS

- a) According to the federal census in 1961,
3,664,008 claimed affiliation with this faith
(20% population)
- b) Of this group, 87,485 were of French origin
 - Ontario - 38,864
 - B. C. - 11,424
 - Quebec - 9,154
- c) The rate of affiliation of Canadians of French origin
with the Church is increasing at an accelerating rate.

2. OBJECTIVES

Preservation of the liberal tradition of the Reformed
Christian Church and of the welfare of Canada and all
Canadians.

3. PREPARATION OF BRIEF

- a) A special commission with 16 members was appointed by
the General Council to study the problem.

Dr. Eugene A. Forsey	Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. J. Ralph Watson	Montreal, P. Q.
Dr. John S. Astbury	Montreal, P. Q.
Mrs. Harold Bennett	Toronto, Ont.
Rev. J. E. Boucher	Ste. Hyacinthe, P.Q.
Rev. H. A. Cantelon	Edmonton, Alta.
Mrs. W. R. Clipsham	Regina, Sask.
Miss Alta Lind Cook	Toronto, Ont.
Raymond D. Doucett	Jacquet River, N. B.
Mrs. J. M. C. Duckworth	Halifax, N. S.
Prof. E. Gault Finley	Senneville, P. Q.
Louis Foisy-Foley	Montreal, P. Q.
Ernest A. Javet Esq.,	Montreal, P. Q.
Prof. David Munroe	Ste. Anne de Bellevue, P.Q.
Rev. Maurice E. Nerny	Ottawa, Ont.
Louis Perron Esq.,	Montreal, P. Q.
Russell Pastuck Esq.,	Winnipeg, Man.
Dr. Herbert L. Pottle	Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Robert K. Shorten	Toronto, Ont.

B. RESEARCH SECTION

No comment.

C. QUESTIONING OF WITNESS(ES)

1. RESEARCH SECTION

(See Section B. above)

2. PROGRAM AND LIAISON SECTION

- p.5 (1) Provision for French education outside Quebec -
10,11 these sections may indicate general and
12 specific questioning in the field of education
- p.17 cf. (2) "Taking into account the differences in English
32,33 language and French language educational
institutions and methods" - "we do not advocate
setting aside the merit principle". Is there a
conflict here?
- p.18 (3) From this long experience - what knowledge or
cf.35 (a) suggestions?
- p.18 (4) Any "specific recommendations" the U.C.C. would
cf.36 (b) make at this time? (info.)
p.21
cf.41
- p.22 (5) Any suggestions as to organization and
cf.43 administration of these tours and contacts?
- p.23 (6) Is it premature to ask what specific implications
cf.45 (c) for practical changes the ecumenical movement
here may presage?
- p.27 (7) Do the recommendations of the Parent Commission
cf.53 (d) in Quebec alter the problem of French education
for French-speaking Protestants in that province?
- p.27 (8) How far, or how specific, should say, a Dominion -
cf.53 Provincial "conference" on education go, or
p.32 become? What areas, for example, would you
propose for discussion by such a "conference"
or collaborative body?

RESEARCH SECTION : QUESTION SUPPLEMENT

Brief #: 750-452

The United Church

OTTAWA

Comments on federal-provincial relations are very general. One (p.30) accepts a de facto requirement of universal provincial consent on fundamental appointments to the B.N.A. Act. The other comment argues, not very convincingly, that separation and associate status are outside the Commission's terms of reference.

B. Irvine

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A Brief presented to

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM
June 1964

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

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THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

Brief Presented to
THE ROYAL COMMISSION
on
BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

June 1964

THE UNITED CHURCH HOUSE
85 St. Clair Avenue East,
Toronto 7, Ontario

Messrs. Chairmen and
Members of the Commission:

(1) As you already know, from the statement made to you by Rev. Robert K. Shorten and Rev. Maurice E. Nerny on November 8 last, The United Church of Canada is not only very deeply interested in the work you are doing but strongly supports it and hopes it may be able to offer some suggestions which you will find useful.

(2) The interest of the United Church in the problems of bilingual and bicultural relations stems from two very important reasons. Through its traditions ~~our~~ Church is linked closely with Calvinism as well as Congregationalism, with the Huguenot as well as with the Methodist, with the reform movements of Europe as well as those of Great Britain, Its traditions are therefore broad as well as deep, varied as well as liberal.

(3) A second reason is found in the establishment of the church itself in 1925, an act of faith and mission which recognized the need to adapt the government and policy of the church to the New World and, more particularly, to the framework of Canadian life. By this act it attempted to meet the spiritual needs, not only of the large city but also of the distant frontier, not only of the native Canadian but of the new settler, not only of the older generation anxious to preserve the faith of its fathers but of the younger generation deeply concerned with the faith of its sons. Thus, it must be clear that the United Church has a deep and lasting concern in the preservation of the liberal tradition of the Reformed Christian Church and in

the welfare of Canada and of all its people. The United Church has demonstrated this concern, in the specific case of French-Canadians, by its support of French-language education, notably in the Institut Français Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles, P.Q., and through the publication of its French-language monthly journal, Credo, which is widely read by French-Canadians of all denominations.

(4) Out of its traditions and its experience of forty years The United Church of Canada is in a position to stimulate and cultivate bilingual and bicultural relationships wherever possible and to respect the culture of ethnic groups other than British and French and religious groups of traditions different from its own.

(5) The 1963 Year Book of The United Church of Canada reports ^{*} 2,633,634 persons under pastoral care though the 1961 federal Census reveals that 3,664,008 persons, or 20% of the population, claim affiliation with our Communion. In 1963 there were 5,763 congregations in The United Church of Canada.

(6) According to the Census of 1961, no less than 87,485 Canadians of French origin declared themselves as "United Church of Canada". Of them, 38,864 were in Ontario, 11,424 in British Columbia (where they formed about one-sixth of the population of French origin) and 9,154 in Quebec.

* corrected figure from that found in Year Book.

See

(7) It may be added that the number of United Church people of French origin is not only appreciable but increasing, and at an accelerating rate. From 1931 to 1941, the increase was 30.6 per cent, from 1941 to 1951 it was 46.7 per cent; and from 1951 to 1961, it was 59.0 per cent. In Ontario from 1931 to 1961, the number has almost tripled; in British Columbia, it has increased more than six times over; in Alberta and Quebec almost two and three-quarters times over.

(8) The members of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism appointed by the General Council of The United Church of Canada are as follows: (See also appendix A)

Dr. Eugene A. Forsey, Ottawa, Ontario
Rev. J. Ralph Watson, Montreal, Quebec
Dr. John S. Astbury, Montreal, Quebec
Mrs. Harold Bennett, Toronto, Ontario
Rev. J.E. Boucher, Ste. Hyacinthe, Quebec
Rev. H.A. Cantelon, Edmonton, Alberta
Mrs. W.B. Clipsham, Regina, Saskatchewan
Miss Alta Lind Cook, Toronto, Ontario
Raymond D. Doucett, Esq., Jacquet River, New Brunswick
Mrs. J.M.C. Duckworth, Halifax, Nova Scotia
Prof. E. Gault Finley, Senneville, Quebec
Louis Foisy-Foley, Esq., Montreal, Quebec
Ernest A. Javet, Esq., Montreal, Quebec
Prof. David Munroe, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec
Rev. Maurice E. Nerny, Ottawa, Ontario.
Russell Pastuck, Esq., Winnipeg, Manitoba
Louis Perron, Esq., Montreal, Quebec
Dr. Herbert L. Pottle, Ottawa, Ontario
Rev. Robert K. Shorten, Toronto, Ontario

(9) A summary of the recommendations and conclusions of our Commission is as follows:

(1) That your Report should make clear that there can be no question of legislating or enforcing culture, no question of forcing anyone to speak English or French; all the Commission can do is recommend legislation or policies which will provide conditions for cultural survival and development.

(2) That your Report should make clear that the description of the British and French as the two "founding" peoples does not imply that Canadians of other origins are inferior, but merely that when the Dominion of Canada was created in 1867, the overwhelming majority of the population was of either British or French origin and culture, and that the institutions of the "new political nationality" therefore bear the imprint of those two cultures.

(3) That Canadians of French speech should have the same opportunities to share in running the country, politically and economically, as Canadians of English speech; that neither should be in any way, directly or indirectly, discriminated against or shut out.

(4) That every Canadian has a right to expect that in his dealings with the federal administration in Ottawa, or in any place where there is a substantial minority of French speaking, or English-speaking people, he will be able to make himself understood in either French or English as he sees fit, and be answered in the language he has used.

(5) That senior officials of Government departments and agencies at Ottawa should, as soon as possible be required to possess reasonable competence in both English and French. Senior officials of such departments and agencies elsewhere should also possess such competence if they are in an area where there is a substantial minority of either language. Senior officials of federal Crown corporations in Ottawa or in any area with a substantial minority of either language should also possess a reasonable competence in both.

(6) That methods of selection of such officials, or any federal officials, should be such as to give citizens of either language complete equality of opportunity.

(7) That there should be more efforts, public and private, to make French Canada and English Canada better known to each other (C.B.C. National Film Board, publicity for bicultural undertakings, translations, exchange of speakers, students, and so on.)

(8) That one of the purposes for which the various communions might work together could well be a concerted preaching, in church and out, of the "reconciling word" to both English-speaking and French-speaking.

(9) That in your discussions with provincial education authorities, you might well consider suggestions for including teaching the languages of the "other cultures" as optional cultural subjects in high school and university where a substantial group of citizens so desires.

(10) That there should be better provision for French education in the provinces outside Quebec, this to be worked out by discussion with the provinces.

(11) That in making such provision the wishes of the local French-speaking community should take precedence over those of French speaking people from outside.

(12) That it should not be taken for granted that French schools must necessarily be Roman Catholic separate schools; the possibility of French public schools should be investigated and considered.

(13) That there should be better facilities for French-Canadians to learn English, and for English-Canadians to learn French:

(a) so that no able, technically well trained young Canadian shall find himself excluded from a career in the Public Service of Canada simply because the part of the country

where he lives does not give him adequate opportunities for learning one or other of the official languages of that Service; and (b) so that the whole life of Canada, the whole Canadian culture, may be enriched by the cross-fertilization of the English-Canadian and French-Canadian cultures, broadening, deepening and diversifying each of the particular heritages by a better knowledge and more sympathetic understanding of the other.

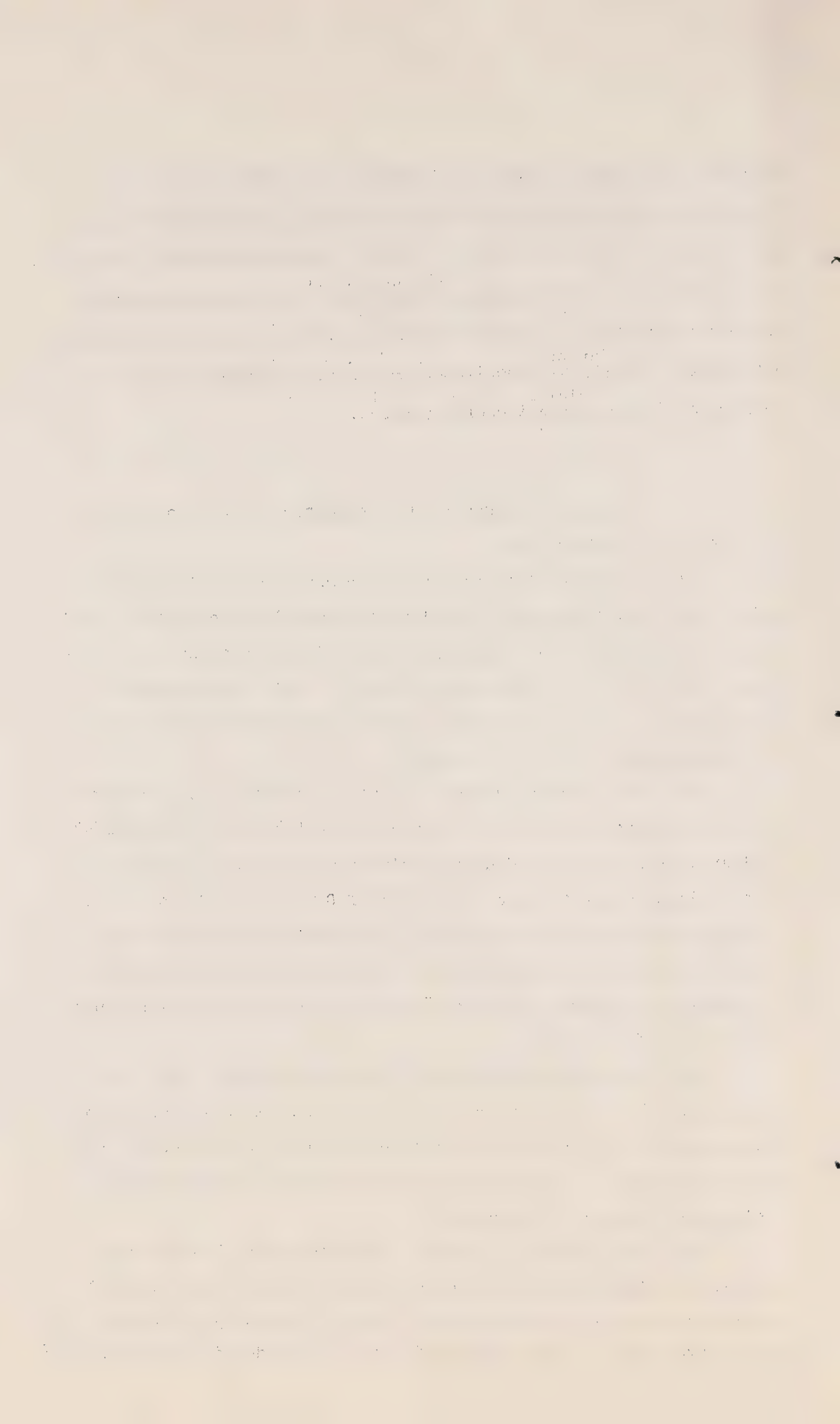
(10) Voici un sommaire des recommandations et des conclusions de notre Commission:

(1) le Rapport devrait affirmer clairement qu'il ne peut être question de légiférer ni d'imposer en matière de culture, qu'il ne peut être question de forcer personne à parler anglais ou français; tout ce que la Commission peut faire, c'est de recommander une législation ou une politique assurant les conditions de survie et de développement culturel au Canada;

(2) votre Rapport devrait établir clairement que la désignation des Canadiens anglais et français comme "peuples fondateurs" n'implique pas que les Canadiens d'autres origines sont inférieurs, mais simplement que lorsque fut créé le Dominion du Canada en 1867, l'immense majorité de la population était d'origine et de culture soit britanniques soit françaises, et que les institutions de la "nouvelle nationalité politique" portent en conséquence les empreintes de ces deux cultures;

(3) les Canadiens de langue française devraient avoir les mêmes possibilités que ceux de langue anglaise dans le partage des responsabilités politiques et économiques du pays; ni les uns ni les autres devraient en aucune manière être l'objet de discrimination ou d'exclusion directe ou indirecte;

(4) tout Canadien a le droit de s'attendre à ce que, ayant affaire à l'administration fédérale à Ottawa, ou en tout lieu où existe une minorité substantielle de langue française ou anglaise, il soit capable de se faire comprendre dans l'une des deux langues de son



choix, et il reçoive la réponse dans la langue de son choix;

(5) les hauts fonctionnaires des ministères et offices gouvernementaux d'Ottawa devraient se voir imposer, dans les plus brefs délais, une connaissance raisonnable des deux langues officielles du pays, et de même ceux des ministères et offices gouvernementaux partout ailleurs au Canada où existe une minorité substantielle dans l'un ou l'autre langage, et le personnel supérieur des compagnies de la couronne devraient eux aussi posséder une connaissance raisonnable de l'une et l'autre langue à Ottawa, et partout où existe une minorité substantielle parlant l'une ou l'autre langue.

(6) les méthodes de sélection de ces hauts fonctionnaires et de ce personnel supérieur, ainsi que de tout fonctionnaire fédéral doivent être de nature à offrir aux citoyens de l'une et l'autre langue des chances absolument égales;

(7) il devrait y avoir davantage d'efforts, publics comme privés, pour faire que le Canada français et le Canada anglais se connaissent mieux l'un l'autre (Radio-Canada, Office National du Film, publicité aux entreprises bilingues, traductions, échanges de conférenciers, d'étudiants, etc...)

(8) l'un des buts d'une coopération entre diverses dénominations pourrait précisément être celui d'organiser la prédication concertée, dans les églises comme au dehors, d'une "Parole de la réconciliation" s'adressant à la fois aux Canadiens de langue française et à ceux de langue anglaise;

(9) dans les discussions avec les autorités provinciales en matière d'éducation, on pourrait suggérer de faire inclure parmi les matières à option, au niveau des écoles secondaires et des universités, l'enseignement des langues "d'autres cultures" partout où cela serait demandé par un groupe substantiel de citoyens;

(10) on devrait pourvoir de façon plus satisfaisante à l'enseignement du français dans les provinces autres que le Québec (sujet à discuter avec chaque province);

(11) les mesures appropriées devraient être prises en tenant compte des désirs de la communauté francophone locale, de préférence à ceux exprimés par des Francophones de l'extérieur;

(12) on ne devrait pas considérer comme allant de soi que des

écoles françaises doivent être nécessairement des écoles séparées catholiques romaines, et l'on devrait étudier sérieusement la possibilité de créer des écoles françaises publiques;

(13) on devrait rendre plus facile l'apprentissage de l'anglais par des Canadiens-français, et du français par des Canadiens-anglais, de sorte (a) qu'aucun jeune Canadien techniquement préparé à entrer dans une carrière administrative au Canada en soit exclu simplement parce que la partie du pays où il vit ne lui offre pas les possibilités adéquates d'apprendre l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles de cette carrière, et (b) que toute la vie canadienne, toute la culture du Canada soient enrichies par l'osmose des cultures canadienne anglaise et canadienne-française - chacune d'elles se trouvant elle-même élargie, approfondie et diversifiée par une meilleure connaissance, et une compréhension plus sympathique de l'autre.

(11) (I) Your terms of reference require you first to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution."

(12) We have several things to say on the matters covered by this paragraph.

(13) (1) It is plain that the Canadian Constitution explicitly provides for a certain degree of bilingualism and biculturalism.

(14) (a) Section 133 of the British North America Act (1867) makes the English and French languages official in (1) the Parliament of Canada and in Courts set up by the Parliament of Canada (which means, in effect, the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court of Canada, and a few other bodies such as the Board of Transport Commissioners for Canada which are declared to be "courts of record"), and in (2) the Legislature and Courts of the province of Quebec. Section 23 of the Manitoba Act (1870) setting up the province of Manitoba, made the same two languages official in the Legislature and Courts of Manitoba, but in 1890, the Legislature of Manitoba in effect repealed this provision, and made English the sole official language in the Manitoba Legislature and Courts, though with the proviso that the repealing Act was to have effect only so far as the Legislature had jurisdiction.

Section 133 of the British North America Act (1867) provides also that all Acts of Parliament and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be published in both languages. Section 23 of the Manitoba Act (1870) makes the same provision for the Acts of the Manitoba Legislature, and this provision has not been repealed.

(15) (b) The preamble of the British North America Act establishes English constitutional law for the whole country: "a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom.

Sections 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 34, 38, 53-55, 58-59, 63-64, 66, 71-72, 75, 77, 82, 83, 88, 90, 96 and 99 spell out part of this in detail.

(16) (c) Section 92 of the British North America Act (1867) head thirteen (which places "Property and Civil Rights in the Province" under the exclusive jurisdiction of the provincial Legislature), coupled with section 94 (which carefully excludes Quebec from the provisions by which the other provinces can hand over all or any part of their jurisdiction over property and civil rights to the Parliament of Canada), in effect establishes and guarantees in Quebec a law of property and civil rights of French origin and in the other provinces a law of property and civil rights based on English common law (subject, of course, in either case, to the right of the Legislature to amend, alter or repeal as it sees fit).

(17) (d) Section 91, head 27 (which declares "The Criminal Law, ...including the Procedure in Criminal Matters" to be under "the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada"), in effect establishes and guarantees criminal law and criminal procedure based on English criminal law for the whole country (subject, of course, to the right of Parliament to amend, alter or repeal as it sees fit).

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(18) No other languages enjoy the same constitutional position as English and French. No other systems of law enjoy the same constitutional position as the English and French systems. So far as we are aware, no one seriously proposes that either the English or the French language should be deprived of the constitutional position it now holds, or that any other language should be admitted to such position. So far as we are aware also, no one seriously proposes that either the English or the French system of law should be deprived of the constitutional position it now holds, or that any other system of law should be admitted to such position.

(19) (II) You are directed however, to "take into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution," "and in particular...to report on the role of public and private organizations...in promoting better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation...of the...contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role." We are convinced that the insertion of these phrases in the Order-in-Council was not intended as a mere gesture. We hope and believe that you will take seriously this important part of your task. We shall make suggestions on the subject.

((20) We have found a certain uneasiness among Canadians of origins other than British and French about the possible implications of the terms "bilingualism" and "biculturalism." Some of them seem to fear that this means that they will be

forced to speak French or that cultural traditions and customs which they cherish will be discriminated against. We think a careful reading of the Order-in-Council should set such fears at rest. Manifestly, the Order recognizes that Canada is ethnically and sociologically multicultural: so far from contemplating forcing any Canadian to give up any right or privilege he now enjoys it explicitly instructs you to recommend steps to safeguard the contributions of peoples of other than British and French origin to Canadian culture, and to promote a more widespread appreciation of such contributions. Politically, however, Canada is, at least to some degree, bilingual and bicultural; and we think that it is this political, public, official bilingualism and biculturalism, not private, individual bilingualism and biculturalism, that you are concerned with. There can be no question of forcing anyone to speak either English, or French, let alone both. There can, indeed, be no question of legislating or enforcing culture in any way. All that you can do is to recommend legislation or policies which will provide conditions for cultural survival and development in one form or another. Public statements by the co-Chairmen of the Commission have already made these points, or something like them. But for the quieting of fears, we venture to suggest that not only should such statements be repeated, emphasized and amplified, but that your report itself should make the matter clear beyond a shadow of doubt.

(21) (III) We are not happy with the term "founding races."

(a) Races is, we think, a poor and misleading equivalent of "peuples" in the French text of the Order-in-Council.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry must be clearly documented, including the date, amount, and purpose of the expenditure. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

Furthermore, it is noted that regular audits are essential to identify any discrepancies or errors. By conducting these checks frequently, potential issues can be caught early, preventing them from escalating into larger problems. The document also mentions that proper record-keeping is crucial for tax purposes, as it provides the necessary evidence to support any claims made during an audit.

In addition to these points, the text highlights the role of technology in modern accounting. It suggests that using specialized software can significantly reduce the risk of human error and streamline the data entry process. However, it also cautions that while technology is helpful, it should not replace the need for human oversight and judgment.

The second section of the document focuses on the importance of budgeting and financial planning. It argues that having a clear budget in place allows organizations to allocate their resources effectively and avoid overspending. This section provides several tips for creating a realistic budget, such as basing it on historical data and including a contingency fund for unexpected expenses.

Finally, the document concludes by reiterating the importance of ongoing communication and collaboration between all stakeholders involved in the financial process. It stresses that everyone has a role to play in ensuring the financial health of the organization, and that open dialogue is key to achieving this goal.

There is no English or Scottish or Irish or British or French "race;" there are English, Scottish, Irish, French (and other) "peoples;" and we suggest that this word would have been more accurate and appropriate.

(22) (b) We have found, among Canadians of origins other than British and French, some resentment of the word "founding," a feeling that this makes people of non-French, non-British ancestry third-class citizens, relegates them to an inferior status, carries a highly offensive implication of superiority of British and French cultures over others. We do not think that this is what the Government intended, or is the spirit in which the Commission approaches its task. But we suggest it might be well, in your hearings and in your report, to make plain what appears to us at least to be the real meaning of the phrase "les deux peuples qui l'ont fondée".

(23) It is a fact that, in 1867, when the Dominion of Canada---what Sir George Etienne Cartier called "the new political nationality"---was established, the overwhelming majority of the population were of either British or French origin and culture. This does not mean that the British and French were better than the Dutch, or the Germans, or the Scandinavians, or the Ukrainians, or the Italians, or the Hungarians, or anyone else. It is just sheer physical and historical fact, with no aspersions on anyone. As the British and French were there, and the others were not, the British and French did the founding, and the others did not; and what was founded bore the imprint of the people who were present, not of those who had yet to arrive.

(24) It is perfectly true that in some parts of the country it was people of origins other than French or British who turned the first sod, just as it was the French who turned the first sod in Quebec or the British in most parts of Ontario. But when people of these other origins came to Canada, they came to a political community which was already established, whose institutions had been shaped by the French or the British, or both, who had been here first. This was one of the given facts which even the early German immigrants to Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, or Waterloo County, Ontario, faced and had to accept. They had not the slightest prospect of setting up a German law, German political institutions, German as an official language. The same is true of later arrivals, such as the Ukrainians in the Prairie Provinces. This is no reflection on the Germans or the Ukrainians or anyone else. It does not for a moment deny, or minimize, the immense contribution they have made to Canada, economically, politically, culturally. But this contribution, however great, does not give their law or their language the same constitutional position as the law and language of the English and French.

(25) (IV) We assume that the Government's instruction to you, the Royal Commission, to recommend steps to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of "equal partnership" is not to be taken in the strict arithmetical sense. For example, the Government can scarcely have contemplated any recommendation that half the members of the Federal Cabinet or the House of Commons or the Senate or the Federal Civil Service or the Directors or employees of Federal Crown companies, or of private corporations, should be of French origin

or French mother tongue, the other half of British origin or English mother tongue, or that every letter written in a Federal Government department should be in both languages. We assume that what is meant is that Canadians of French speech should have the same opportunities to share in running the country, politically and economically as Canadians of English speech; that neither should be in any way, directly or indirectly, discriminated against or shut out. To this principle we fully subscribe. Its implications are considerable and its implementation presents difficulties. On both points we have something to say below.

(26) (V) Your terms of reference plainly exclude any consideration of separation. We think they also exclude, in effect, any proposals which could make Canada a league of ten almost sovereign states or of two almost sovereign states - Quebec, on the one hand, and the rest of the country on the other - with a central Government and Legislature having jurisdiction only over such matters as currency, the tariff, the post office, defence and external relations. In any such league, bilingualism and biculturalism could at most be restricted to the central Government and Legislature and the small central Civil Service.

(27) (VI) The first numbered paragraph of your terms of reference instructs you "to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration - including Crown corporations - and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration."

(28) (a) We are obviously not in a position to furnish you with any detailed information "upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration - including Crown corporations- and in their communications with the public" though we think it worth while observing that in certain respects, notably bilingual money, bilingual stamps and bilingual cheques, the recent practice provides for more bilingualism than existed in 1867 or for many years after. We are not, of course, suggesting that this is an adequate expression of bilingualism in the federal administration; but we do draw attention to the fact that in these matters bilingualism has been increasing rather than diminishing, in comparison with, for example, the period when the Federal Cabinet was headed by Sir John A. Macdonald and included seven other Fathers of Confederation: not least Sir George Etienne Cartier, Sir Hector Langevin and Hon. J.C. Chapais.

(29) (b) We are also not in a position to make detailed recommendations "designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration." We think, however, that certain general propositions might serve as guiding lines for policy.

(30) (1) Every Canadian has a right to expect that in his dealings with the federal administration in Ottawa, or in any place where there is a substantial minority of French-speaking, or English-speaking people, he will be able to make himself understood in either French or English as he sees fit, and be answered in the language he has used.

(31) (2) Senior officials of Government departments and agencies at Ottawa should, as soon as possible, be required to possess reasonable competence in both English and French. Senior officials of such departments and agencies elsewhere should also possess such competence if they are in an area where there is a substantial minority of either language. Senior officials of federal Crown corporations in Ottawa or in any area with a substantial minority of either language should also possess a reasonable competence in both.

(32) (3) Methods of selection of such officials, or any federal officials, should be such as to give citizens of either language complete equality of opportunity. Examinations, interviews and so forth should, for example, take full account of the differences in English-language and French-language educational institutions and methods.

(33) (4) We are not, of course, suggesting that a specific proportion of officials of any rank should necessarily be French-speaking or English-speaking. We do not advocate setting aside the merit principle. We recognize that it will take time, in some instances considerable time, to bring into full effect the principles we have outlined. We are aware that there may be many technical problems involved which we are not competent even to discuss, and that these problems may for some time be multiplied by strong competition among the Federal Government, the Quebec Government and many private industries for bilingual technical and administrative personnel, more particularly,

perhaps, French-Canadians, who possess the requisite capacity, training and especially experience.

(34) (VII) On the second numbered paragraph of your terms of reference, we have several things to say.

(35) (a) First, we should like to emphasize that there is a long-standing and deeply-rooted French Protestant tradition in Canada. The first Protestant service in Canada was held in the French language along the banks of the Bay of Fundy in 1604. The United Church of Canada inherited from the communions which came together to establish it a body of French-speaking members and adherents organized in French-speaking congregations. The United Church has maintained and developed these French-language congregations and their work, including their educational work, notably the Institut Français Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles. We attach as an Appendix an outline of the history of French Protestantism in Canada by one of our ministers, Rev. J.E. Boucher, D.D. (See appendix)

(36) (b) We think that there is great need for English-speaking Canada to know more of French-speaking Canada, and for French-speaking Canada to know more of English-speaking Canada. Many English-speaking Canadians rarely have any opportunity of meeting French-Canadians, or even hearing them speak; little opportunity of knowing anything about the extraordinary cultural renaissance (literary, artistic, philosophical, theological, political, economic) which has been taking place in Quebec in recent years; little opportunity of bringing up to date conceptions of French

Canada which have become hopelessly superannuated.

Some French Canadians seem to be unaware of the scope and variety of the culture of English-speaking Canadians. Most French-speaking Canadians have few opportunities of meeting or hearing any English-Canadians except the English-speaking minority in Quebec, who are not necessarily typical or representative of the English-speaking people of the Atlantic provinces, of much of Ontario, or of the West. If we knew more of each other, we should still no doubt, have differences and disagreement, but at worst they would be differences and disagreements about realities, not myths, phantoms or fairy-tales; and it is surely not unreasonably optimistic to think that we might gain new respect and understanding of each other, new sympathy with each other in problems which might turn out to be surprisingly similar. Anyhow, the attempt is surely worth making.

(37) We recognize that your Commission itself has already undertaken, inspired or encouraged a variety of exchanges designed to do just this sort of thing. We note that the press, of both languages, has been making more and more efforts of the same kind, and the work of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has been highly commendable.

(38) We cannot emphasize too strongly our belief that the maintenance and extension of this work is alone enough to make essential the preservation of a strong, independent, C.B.C., with ample funds, provided on a basis which will guarantee that strength and independence. No other body,

private or public, could begin to take the C.B.C.'s place, and no C.B.C. undernourished or at the mercy of every gust of emotion could meet the national need.

(39) The National Film Board has also done good work in making French-speaking and English-speaking Canada better known to each other.

(40) We should like to draw attention also to two notable examples of genuinely bicultural effort. One is the Dictionary of National Biography, which is being published simultaneously by the University of Toronto Press and Les Presses de l'Université Laval, and for which the contributors wrote in whichever language they pleased, with the necessary translations by a committee of experts in both languages. The other is the Laurentian University of Sudbury, a bilingual institution in which the Roman Catholic Church, the United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada have federated colleges, and in which both English and French are the languages of instruction in university subjects. Each of these undertakings encountered obstacles, and required much patience, perseverance and good will on both sides to get under way; but there is no doubt that both are succeeding, fulfilling all the hopes of those who initiated them. They prove that French-speaking and English-speaking, working together for a specific goal, can do things which neither could do alone and in which both can legitimately take pride. We suggest that you should recommend steps to encourage publicity for common enterprises and common achievements like these, things which unite us, to counteract the ample

publicity about things which divide us.

(41) In spite of the excellent work of both the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board in this field, we suggest that both could do more, and we hope you will make specific recommendations to this end. We hope you will also consider what further could be done by other government agencies, notably the National Museum.

(42) When everything that can be done to promote bilingualism has been done, a very large proportion of Canadians, both French-speaking and English-speaking, will still, at best, have only an imperfect acquaintance with the other language. But it is important that, even of these, as many as possible should have a reasonable knowledge of what is being written in the other language. Otherwise, there will remain far too many English-Canadians who have no idea that there is such a thing as French-Canadian literature, and far too many French-Canadians who have no idea that there is such a thing as English-Canadian literature. To break down these walls of ignorance, good translations are indispensable. But they must be good. It is entirely possible to produce the kind of integral translation which will convey perfectly, or almost perfectly, in the second language the whole meaning or feeling of the original text. But the translator must have an intimate knowledge of the resources of both languages, and a certain amount of literary skill and experience. Current commercial rates for translation are

not high enough to attract people capable of this kind of expert performance. We therefore suggest that you look into this whole matter carefully and consider whether you should recommend that funds should be provided to subsidize translation of the best of each literature into the other language.

(43) None the less, we believe that there is room for further efforts. Private organizations might be encouraged to organize tours by Quebec French-Canadians to the English-speaking parts of the Atlantic provinces, to English-speaking Ontario, and to the West, and tours of English-speaking Canadians from these regions to Quebec, with all tours offering opportunities for the widest possible personal contacts. The very numerous organizations which are constantly looking for "a speaker" might give special attention to getting bilingual French-Canadians to speak to English-speaking bodies, and bilingual English-speaking Canadians to speak to French-Canadians. (The latter is, of course, the more difficult, since the supply of even near-bilingual English-Canadians is relatively small; still, it is not as small as it used to be, nor as small as the more pessimistic might suppose.)

(44) While there is undoubted value in the use of simultaneous translation in deliberative bodies and at special conferences where persons of the two language

groups may be encouraged to speak their mother tongues, we believe this does not necessarily avert misunderstanding. It is our conviction that every encouragement must be given to persons who are likely to participate in such bodies to understand and speak in the second language, since this will ensure far better comprehension of the exact meaning of another person's point of view.

(45) (c) We believe that the churches can do much to promote exchanges between the two cultures, especially in the new atmosphere which the ecumenical movement has brought into inter-church relations here as elsewhere. Formerly, too often, tension and misunderstanding between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians was compounded by the fact that the English-speaking were predominantly Protestant (or, if that term offends some, non-Roman Catholic) and the French-speaking overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, and that the relations between Roman Catholics and the "separated brethren" emphasized, on both sides, separation rather than brotherliness. Here also there are myths, phantoms and fairy tales. Now, a much larger proportion of English-speaking Canadians are themselves Roman Catholics; French-Canadians are less solidly Roman Catholic; Roman Catholics and Protestants alike are less fiercely Roman Catholic and Protestant than they used to be; and there is, above all, a sustained and earnest effort at mutual understanding and even cooperation for common purposes which are already breaking down suspicions and antagonisms which have plagued Canada since Confederation and which plagued the pre-Confederation provinces and colonies for generations before. One of the purposes for which the

various communions might work together could well be a concerted preaching, in church and out, of the "reconciling word" to both English-speaking and French-speaking.

(46) (d) We are glad that the second numbered paragraph of your terms of reference emphasizes the importance of the contribution which cultures other than British and French have made to Canada, and instructs you to recommend measures to promote a more widespread appreciation of that contribution.

(47) There is, first, the contribution of the Indians and Eskimos, who were here before any of us, and who might well dispute the claim of French and British to the title "founding peoples."

(48) More important quantitatively is the contribution of the people of other Asian and European nationalities who have settled here, mostly in the last half-century or so. Canadians of both French and British origin need to be reminded of the fact that these other people are very numerous: over one-quarter of the total population,, and nearly half in the four Western provinces. Canadians of British origin need to be reminded of the fact that they themselves are now a minority, though of course the bulk of the non-French immigrants have tended to become English-speaking, so that the English-speaking group, as distinct from the British-origin group, is still an overwhelming majority, in about the same proportion as at Confederation, or slightly higher.

(49) The people of the "other cultures" strongly, and rightly, resent any suggestion that they or their cultures are in any way inferior. They have, as far as we are aware---and we have a great many of them in our congregations---no desire to have any of their languages made official, no desire to substitute the systems of law which prevailed in their ancestral homes for those which prevail in Canada, no desire to have ethnic schools, financed from public funds, for children of their own particular groups. But they, or their immediate forebears, in most cases deliberately chose to become Canadian. Many of them were not only urged to come but encouraged to stay and preserve the best in their own culture. They have done yeoman work in opening up the Prairies, in building railways and roads, in producing all manner of goods and services. They have made notable contributions to the literary, artistic, professional and political life of the country. They have every right to be accepted as full partners in building a Canadian nation. They feel that Canadians of French and British origin should not only respect each other, and each others' rights, but also the rights of those Canadians who, one of them has said, "will never really belong to either" the British or French group, but "will, in time, blend into that which is neither French nor English". They believe they have done much, and can do more, to enrich and diversify Canadian culture, but that they can do it better if they have reasonable opportunities for preserving the cultures of their ancestors; that if they are denied such opportunities, or stinted of them, Canada will be the poorer.

(50) The United Church of Canada has tried to help provide such opportunities, through the work which it maintains in many places where there are groups of people of the "other cultures". Other churches, and secular organizations, have also taken an active part in this process, not of absorption or assimilation, but of integration. But more can still be done, and it is important that it should be done, for the sake of Canada, and more particularly because, in the re-shaping of Canada that is now going on, this very large and significant proportion of our population must not be made to feel in any way overlooked, forgotten or excluded.

(51) Specifically, many of the people of the "other cultures" feel that "a cultural tradition cannot be maintained without the maintenance of the language on which it is based", and that therefore, "if we want them to preserve their culture, we must help them keep their language. Some way must be found to permit teaching of their languages in our schools, as culture subjects on an optional basis starting about grade VIII or IX", and on through "high school and university". English, or French, depending on the part of the country, would be the language of instruction; the facilities desired could, of course, be provided only where there was a substantial group of citizens who wanted them; and, needless to say, use of the facilities would be entirely voluntary. We think there is merit in such proposals, and we respectfully suggest that, in any observations which you see fit to place before provincial educational authorities, some consideration of these or similar provisions for the "other cultures" might well find a place.

We recognize that, here as in other matters, there may be serious practical problems involved: time, space, qualified teachers, definition of what constitutes "a substantial group". We regret that we are not in a position to be specific about any of them.

(52) (VIII) The third paragraph of the Order-in Council directs you to "discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual". On this we have several observations to offer.

(53) (a) One of the ends in view here is certainly the provision of adequate French education facilities for French-Canadians outside Quebec. This is a matter of particular concern to French-speaking Protestants, and for them the problem exists inside Quebec as well. Even now, outside Montreal, it is difficult for French-speaking Protestant children to get a French education except in Roman Catholic schools. The result is that many Protestants of French origin become anglicized. In the other provinces, it is very nearly impossible for French-speaking Protestant children to get a French education, even in Roman Catholic separate schools. The result again, is that many, if not most, Protestants of French origin become anglicized. We think this is a serious loss, not only to French Canada but to the whole of Canada, since French-speaking Protestants could play an important part in interpreting the English-speaking Protestant and French-speaking Roman Catholic communities to each other.

(54) There is no doubt that French-Canadians generally feel that the present facilities are not adequate, and are far from equal to those provided for English-speaking Canadians in Quebec. There are no constitutional guarantees for English schools in Quebec, or for French schools outside Quebec. Section 93 of the British North America Act, section 22 of the Manitoba Act, and section 17 of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Acts, provide guarantees only for "denominational" "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic" schools, not "French" or "English".

(55) It is, we think worth noting that the provision in the Quebec Resolutions of 1864 "saving the rights and privileges" of the "Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas" (i.e., what had been Lower Canada and Upper Canada, and what were to become Quebec and Ontario) was inserted not at the instance of any French-Canadian, but of Thomas D'arcy McGee, an Irish Roman Catholic; and that the wider provision in the London Resolutions (on which the British North America Act is based), extending the saving clause to all the provinces and providing for Federal Remedial Orders and Remedial Acts to restore such rights if a province took them away, was inserted at the instance not of any French-Canadian, but of Alexander Tilloch Galt, a Scots Protestant; and in neither case does there appear to be any record of even a comment by any of the French-Canadian Fathers of Confederation.

(56) At first glance, it may seem surprising that there was no specific provision for French and English schools as such. But the circumstances of the time provide a ready explanation.

(57) (i) There was no need to guarantee English schools for the English-speaking minority in Quebec because that minority was over-whelmingly Protestant, and the Protestant schools which were guaranteed were bound to be schools in which the English would certainly be amply looked after. The English-speaking Roman Catholics in Quebec, led by McGee, evidently had no doubt whatever that their French-speaking co-religionists would leave them perfectly free to have their own English-language schools; they did not ask for any constitutional guarantee.

(58) (ii) The bulk of the Roman Catholic population outside Quebec was not French-speaking. In Ontario about 28 per cent of the Roman Catholics were of French origin, in Nova Scotia about 33 per cent, in New Brunswick about 47 per cent, in Prince Edward Island about 25 per cent. Moreover, the French-Canadian Roman Catholics in these provinces were usually heavily concentrated in certain local areas where they formed the majority, so that, if there was a Roman Catholic school in the place, it would almost certainly be a French school. In Manitoba, the Roman Catholic population was overwhelmingly French-speaking, so that Roman Catholic schools were pretty certain to be French schools. So it is not hard to see why the French-Canadian Fathers of Confederation were quite satisfied with the McGee-Galt guarantees for "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic" schools. They probably thought that, for all practical purposes, this would look after their people outside Quebec; and all the records suggest that all the Fathers, French and English, were very much concerned with the practical and very little with the theoretical.

(59) Actually, things have not worked out as the Fathers probably expected, and certainly had reason to expect. Some French-Canadians, accordingly, have suggested that section 93 of the British North America Act should be amended to provide constitutional guarantees for "French" and "English" schools, as well as "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic". We are inclined to think that this proposal is impracticable, for several reasons.

(60)(i) There is a widespread belief, nowhere stronger than in the province of Quebec, that constitutional amendments affecting the jurisdiction of the provincial Legislatures must have the consent of all the provinces. We do not say that this belief is well founded in history, or that any such "convention" or unwritten rule is desirable. We simply say that the belief is widespread and deep-rooted, and that the rule has been invariably followed for the last quarter century; and we are convinced that in fact no such amendment as we have just mentioned, cutting down the jurisdiction of the provinces, would have any prospect of getting unanimous consent. Nor do we believe that any federal Government would dare try to push it through without such consent, especially in the present strongly provincialist atmosphere.

(61) (ii) The only serious attempt to invoke the constitutional provisions guaranteeing Protestant and Roman Catholic schools was in the famous Manitoba School Case, 1890-96. The federal Cabinet passed a Remedial Order, instructing Manitoba to restore the Roman Catholic separate schools. Manitoba refused. The Federal Government introduced a Remedial Bill to restore the separate schools.

Parliamentary obstruction, led, incidentally, by a French-Canadian Roman Catholic, Wilfrid Laurier, prevented the bill from passing before the Parliament of 1891-96 reached the end of its maximum term of five years; and the Government which supported the bill was swept from power in the ensuing election, and the party supporting that Government remained in the shades of opposition for fifteen years. The provisions for Remedial Orders and Remedial Acts have never been invoked since. They are a dead letter. The Howell and Tupper Governments killed themselves in the attempt to apply those provisions. No subsequent Government has ever contemplated this form of suicide, and no Government ever will. The Terms of Union with Newfoundland, indeed, tacitly admitted this by totally ignoring section 93.

(62) If Canada is going to take bilingualism and biculturalism seriously, then certainly there must be better provision for French education in the provinces outside Quebec. But we think the necessary changes in provincial educational systems, on which we are not qualified to go into detail, must be worked out by a process of discussion with the provinces. Plainly, French education can be provided only where there are enough French-speaking people to make it financially and administratively feasible: no one can expect public provision for French education for two or three families. Exactly how many would be necessary is a technical problem on which we have not the temerity to offer any advice.

(63) We venture to suggest two things in this connection.

(i) The wishes of the local French-speaking community, who know the local situation, should take precedence over those of French-speaking people from outside, who do not. A theoretically imperfect arrangement which satisfies the local French-speaking community, and works, will be better than a theoretically perfect one which does not.

(64) (ii) It should not be taken for granted that French schools must necessarily be Roman Catholic separate schools. The possibility of French public schools should be investigated and considered.

(65) The United Church of Canada recognizes and respects the constitutional provision which places the responsibility for education within the jurisdiction of each province. Considering the size and diversity of Canada this provision is necessary to ensure the adaptation that is essential in providing sound education for all Canadians. The United Church believes, however, that the federal government has a clear and inescapable duty to secure the collaboration necessary among the provinces which will maintain services that are approximately equal and to protect the rights of parents to have their children taught in either English or French. The duty of providing moral and religious instruction is primarily one which must be shared by the parents and the churches; and we emphasize again the possibility, even the desirability, of French public schools.

(66) We see every reason to encourage children to complete their primary and secondary school courses in

either English or French, with the further opportunity of learning the second language. We believe that members of other language groups should be permitted to choose between English and French, and to continue studies in their mother tongue as a subject in the curriculum, if they wish to do so. Such practices as these would, we believe, strengthen rather than weaken national unity. We do insist, however, that a much greater effort should be made to provide a common approach to studies such as history, literature and geography. In the past we have gone much too far in stressing the differences between our national groups and the time has surely come when we should develop a sense of perspective and proportion in which the complexities of our national life will be explained in terms of our common experiences and aspirations.

(67) Another of the ends in view in paragraph 3 of the Order is, we think, the provision of better facilities for French-Canadians to learn English, and particularly for English-Canadians to learn French. This, we suggest, apart from any other considerations, is directly relevant to paragraph 1 of your terms of reference.

(68) At present, bilingual Canadians are to be found overwhelmingly in Quebec and in the parts of Ontario and New Brunswick just west and east of Quebec. If we make bilingualism (even something less than perfect bilingualism) a requirement for the higher ranks of the Federal Civil Service, then, as things stand, we shall automatically find ourselves giving a preference to people

from this central area, and automatically discriminating against people in most of the Atlantic provinces, most of Ontario and the whole of the West. All the brains and all the technical competence are not concentrated in Quebec and the territories just east and west of it. The Government of Canada must be able to draw on all the best brains, and best-trained brains, it can get; and no able, technically well trained young Canadian must find himself excluded from a career in the Public Service of Canada simply because the part of the country where he lives does not give him adequate opportunities for learning one or other of the official languages of that service. That is one compelling reason why the matters dealt with in paragraph³ of your terms of reference, though constitutionally under provincial jurisdiction, in fact involve aspects which go beyond provincial jurisdiction and concern the whole country. By the same token, this part of your task is not a mere addendum to the rest, but an integral part of it, and a part with high priority and great urgency.

(69) (c) The third, and not the least important, and presumably contemplated by paragraph 3 of the Order is, we think, the enrichment of the whole life of Canada, the whole Canadian culture in the broadest sense of that word, which could result from the cross-fertilization of the English-Canadian and French-Canadian sub-cultures (if we may venture to use that term, without any derogatory implications for either). Each of these is to some extent a part of, and certainly the inheritor of, one of the richest cultures of the Western world. They have much in

common, more, perhaps, than we sometimes realize when we speak of our respective "mentalities," our respective ways of looking at things and doing things. But they are different enough that each has something to offer to the other. It is difficult to escape the impression that neither French-Canadians or English-Canadians have made full use of the unrivalled possibilities Canada could provide for understanding and developing the common heritage, and for broadening, deepening and diversifying each of the particular heritages by a better knowledge and more sympathetic understanding of each other. But this is impossible unless more Canadians, and especially leaders of opinion, have a reasonable knowledge of both languages.

(70) We hope that what we have placed before you will be of use to you in the work you are doing, which goes to the very foundations of our institutions, and which can open so many doors to new possibilities, and close so many to old misunderstandings, suspicions and animosities.

Respectfully submitted,

Eugene A. Forsey
on behalf of the Commission.

A P P E N D I X

Index

Biographical Sketch of Commission Members	page i
FRENCH PROTESTANTISM IN CANADA Rev. J.E. Boucher	page 1
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS TO THE CULTURAL LIFE OF CANADA Rev. J.E. Boucher	page 13
EDUCATION Prof. David C. Munroe	page 15
THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH TO ETHNIC GROUPS Rev. Robert K. Shorten	page 17

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FRENCH PROTESTANTISM IN CANADA

French Protestants at the Conquest

The French Protestants in Canada today are not the descendants of those hardy and daring Huguenots who, in the 16th and 17th centuries, founded the first French settlements on the mysterious shores of the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy. Protestants suffered so much disability under the French Regime that there were only few left when the colony was ceded to Great Britain.

General Murray took a sympathetic interest in them. It was his conviction that if they were provided with a minister and a place of worship, they might be able to induce their persecuted brethren in France to come to Canada. A Huguenot community in Montreal, or in Quebec, might tend to lessen the prejudices of the French Canadians against the English.

That was a sound suggestion, but London had another plan, and that was to make the newly-acquired colony thoroughly English; the new subjects of His Majesty were to be anglicized and won over to the Established Church.

In fact the instructions Murray received from the home government read as follows: "The Church of England is to be established, both in principle and practise, in order that the new subjects might be induced to embrace by degrees the Protestant religion and their children brought up in its principles". That was the policy outlined by His Majesty's government.

Many obstacles, however, stood in the way. The Roman Church surrounded its people with special care and attention and made every effort to keep them within the fold. Moreover, the French Canadians did not know English and would derive little spiritual profit in a church where worship was conducted in an unknown language.

The Three French Ministers

To overcome that difficulty, the Church of England appointed three French speaking ministers; Chambrand Delisle in Montreal, Emmanuel Vessyere, an ex-Recoll t monk, in Three-Rivers, and David de Montmollin in Quebec. It was hoped that the three clerics would attract to their services a fair number of French Canadians. That move did not produce the results anticipated. The three ministers made no impact on the French population. De Montmollin is the only one of the three who engaged in proselytism. He distributed Bibles and New Testaments on the south shore of the St. Lawrence and, as far as we know, only one abjured the Roman Catholic faith, as the result of this evangelistic activity. His name is Jean Baptiste Pain, a farmer of St. Roch des Aulnais, a farming community some sixty-five miles north east of Quebec.

During the first fifty years of British rule in Canada few French Canadians united with the Church of England and the number of French Protestants remained very small.

The Wesleyan Attempt.

In spite of this failure, Protestant people, both here and in England, believed that evangelization work could be carried on in Quebec with some measure of success. It was this belief that led the British Wesleyan Conference to take the initiative. In 1815, it engaged the Rev. Jean de Putron, a native of the Island of Guernsey, to preach the Gospel in the French language to the people of Quebec. In the Methodist Magazine we read the following item: "Jean de Putron sailed for Quebec, September 15, 1815, from Woolwich. The object of his mission is to minister to the French emigrants and settlers, AMONG WHOM THE LORD HAS BEGUN A GOOD WORK OF GRACE, in consequence of which they are desirous of having the Gospel administered to them in their own language".

After remaining a short time in Quebec, he proceeded to Montreal where he began evangelistic work. He speaks of congregations of forty, fifty, seventy-five and of a school with an enrolment close to a hundred. Strong opposition on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy closed his school and kept away from his religious services of worship those who had found comfort in his message. He laboured until 1824, when his name disappears from the missionary reports of the Wesleyan Conference. No successor seems to have been appointed.

Madame Louis Feller and Louis Roussy

In 1834 a Swiss Missionary Society sent to Canada the Rev. Henri Olivier and his wife to labour among the Canadian Indians. Passing through Montreal, they were told that they would render greater service to the cause of the Kingdom if they preached the Gospel to the French Canadians. They finally yielded to the pressing solicitations of their Montreal friends and engaged in evangelistic work, after they had received consent from the Society under whose auspices they had come to Canada.

The following year, a widow, Madame Louis Feller, née Henriette Odin, who had come under the spell of a religious revival which had shaken the churches in Switzerland, felt that she must dedicate her life to missionary work for which she was eminently qualified, both intellectually and spiritually. Hearing from her friend, Madame Olivier, that there was work to be done in the old French colony, she decided to become the messenger of the Good News in that far-away land.

At the same time, a young man, Louis Roussy, who had just completed his studies, offered his services, and in August 1835, he and Madame Feller left Lausanne for Canada. They landed in Montreal on the last day of October, a memorable day in the annals of French Protestantism in Canada. They were warmly received by the two missionaries, and at once went to work, she helping the Oliviers in the City and he, opening a school in Lacadie, on the south shore.

Unfortunately, the severity of the climate was too much for Henri and Madame Olivier. Their health, never robust, broke down, and they were compelled to return to their native land which they did in the Spring of 1836.

Would the new workers be able to carry on without the help and inspiration of the Oliviers? They sought God's guidance and, after ardent prayers, it became abundantly clear to them that they were divinely called to work among the French Canadians.

As they faced hostility in Montreal, they went to St. Jean, where they met with the same determined opposition. During the previous winter, Roussy had found in Grande Ligne, a small community on the Richelieu river, a family well disposed toward the Gospel message, and he thought that these good people might give them shelter and enable them to do evangelistic work. They went and they were well received. They made it the centre of their missionary activity. Madame Feller opened a school which became l'Institut Feller, and while she was teaching, Roussy went from door to door, distributing Bibles and New Testaments, and holding services wherever he had the opportunity. The work was encouraging and in 1838 a congregation was formed, the first French Protestant congregation organized in Quebec, and its polity was that of the Reformed Church in Switzerland.

Two years later a substantial building was dedicated which served as a residential school and a chapel. A similar work was started in St. Pie, a locality forty-five miles east of Montreal, which resulted in the establishment of the second French Protestant congregation in the Province. More on Grand Ligne in the section dealing with the Baptists.

The French Canadian Missionary Society

The two courageous and dedicated souls, Madame Feller and Louis Roussy, worked independently of any denomination and received no stated salary. Their Missionary effort had aroused the interest of Protestants in Montreal, who felt they should have a part in that work.

In February 1839, leading clergymen, merchants and professional men met in the Vestry of the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal to discuss the advisability of entering this campaign of evangelization. The following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That a Society be now formed, called the French Canadian Missionary Society, whose object shall be to provide means for preaching the Gospel of Christ to the inhabitants of Canada using the French language". The men elected officers of the new Society were: Major Christie, president; Lieutenant-Colonel Wilgress, vice-president; William Lyman, treasurer; and James Court, secretary.

These men meant business and they pursued a sensible policy. Their aim was not to anglicize the French Canadians, but simply to reveal to them the beauty and the riches of the truth, as it is in Jesus. They were devoid of any anti-Roman catholic spirit.

What prompted them to undertake that work was of course the conviction that they had a message capable of bringing enlightenment and hope to Lower Canada, and also the fact that, at the time, scores of French Canadians had been read out of their Church by Bishop Lartigues, because they had joined the rebels and fought with them in the Rebellion of 1837. It was felt that these outcasts should not be left without religious ministrations and that something should be done to give them the Protestant interpretation of the Christian religion.

The Society at work

As soon as the Society was constituted, two men, the Rev. William Taylor and James Court, were sent overseas, the first to Scotland, the second to Switzerland, for the purpose of raising money and securing workers who could speak French. The two emissaries met with success in both countries. Committees were formed in Edinburgh and Geneva, the first to find money, the second to select missionaries.

The first contingent of preachers and teachers landed in Montreal in the Summer of 1840; they were Daniel and Madame Amaron, Antoine Morel and his wife, and Joseph Vessot. The Rev. Emmanuel Tanner came the following year and in 1844, new recruits arrived from Geneva: the Rev. Frederick Doudiet, the Rev. Jean and Madame Vernier and two lay workers, Marie and Andre Bolandt. As the work prospered, new workers responded to the call to help the pioneers and the new converts who had become missionaries.

As Madame Feller and Louis Roussy were working on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, the Society workers invaded Montreal and the region north of the City. They broke ground in Belle-Rivière, Petit-Brûlé and Ste. Thérèse, localities situated in a rich agricultural belt.

These devoted men and women set themselves to their task with faith, love and enthusiasm and the first thing that they did was to open schools. While her husband was going from house to house, distributing Bibles and New Testaments, Madame Amaron taught the children of Belle-Rivière, and there laid the foundations of what has become l'Institut Français Evangélique of Pointe-aux-Trembles, the second French Protestant residential school in Quebec.

Public education, at the time, was sadly neglected in French Canada and rural schools were few and far between. Hundreds of children were denied the benefits of primary education, and many would have remained illiterate if these little mission-schools had not been operating.

The emphasis was not only on education but on the preaching of the Gospel; their chief mission was to make known the truth that makes men free and to that arduous task they gave the best of themselves in the face of all kinds of opposition. Prejudice against all that was English and Protestant was deeply rooted in the French Canadian mind and that, with the conviction that Roman Catholicism was the only true Church, made their work difficult in the extreme.

They suffered persecution, but they were not dismayed. The sweet light of love which they radiated in the exercise of their ministry and in their private life, overcame fanaticism and congregations were organized in Belle-Rivière, Ste. Thérèse, Ramsey, Ste. Elisabeth, Joliette, Berthier, Ottawa, St. Hyacinthe, Montreal, Pointe-aux-Trembles, and these small groups of evangelical Christians witnessed for Christ by their piety and upright living.

The school Madame Amaron opened in Belle-Rivière attracted so many pupils that larger quarters had to be provided. As Belle-Rivière was out of the way and the roads leading to it

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impassable in the Spring and Fall, the Society looked for a more suitable and accessible site and one was found in Pointe-aux-Trembles, a community at the east end of the Montreal Island. A brick building was erected which was dedicated November 5, 1846. The following year, Madame Tanner's school for girls in Montreal was moved to Pointe-aux-Trembles and sheltered in a temporary house opposite the boys' school, the two named Les Instituts Evangéliques.

The work prospered and when the Society was dissolved in 1876, it had fifteen congregations and mission fields under its supervision, and the French Canadians it had trained for missionary work were: R.P. Duclos, Gilbert Desilets, Joseph Provost, Laurent Rivard, Charles Gobeil, Grégoire Desjardin, Israel Matthieu, Antoine Geoffroy and G. Mousseau.

To make known to French Canadians the Gospel of the grace of God has ever been the great object of the French Canadian Missionary Society and the men and women employed by it. To its existence is due the wide dissemination of the truth, as it is found in Jesus, the furtherance of religious and secular education, and the emancipation of many immortal souls. "It is hard", wrote Dr. Robert Campbell, for many years clerk of the Presbyterian Church Assembly, "to over-estimate the importance of the influence brought to bear on French-speaking Canada by the French Canadian Missionary Society in the matters of education and evangelism".

The Baptists

At the time of the Society's dissolution the Anglicans, the Baptists, the Methodists and the Presbyterians had been in the field of French evangelization for some time. In 1847, Madame Feller and Louis Roussy decided to cast in their lot with the Canada Baptist Missionary Society. They felt that they could no longer carry on without close affiliation with a major denomination, and having been baptized by immersion some time before, the step that they took was a logical one. The Baptists had always shown a great interest in that work, and they were delighted to assume that new responsibility.

Under the new set up, the mission to the French Canadians was pushed with vigour and enthusiasm. New congregations were organized: Marieville, Roxton Pond, South Ely, St. Constant, Sorel, Montreal, Maskinongé and Quebec. Besides being the principal of the school she had founded in Grande Ligne, a post she filled until the time of her death, in 1868, Madame Feller remained the moving spirit of the whole enterprise. At her insistence, a Board with power to direct all operations, education and evangelism, was created which was incorporated in 1855 by an Act of the Assembly of Lower and Upper Canada, under the name: the Grande Ligne Mission. That body on which sat men of vision gave impetus to the work, while consolidating what had already been done. The girls school in St. Pie was transferred to Longueuil and in 1880 was made part of l'Institut Feller at Grande Ligne, thus becoming a coeducational institution.

Most of the workers under the Grande Ligne Mission were Canadian born: Léon Normandeau, a former Roman Catholic priest, Dr. Côté, a politician who had sat in the Quebec Legislature; Théodore Lafleur, one of the brightest lights in French Protestantism; Narcisse Cyr, who founded the first French Protestant weekly, le Semeur; Treflé Brouillet, A de L. Therrien; Manasse Parent; G.N. Massé; men who became known throughout the Church by the great contribution they made to the cause of religion. Three laymen have rendered yeoman service as "colporteurs": they are Zéphirin Patenaude, Toussaint Riendeau and Joseph Gendreau.

The Grande Ligne Mission, whose members represent the geographical sections of the Church, is still operating. It maintains a coeducational school, l'Institut Feller at Grande Ligne, eight congregations in the country, one in Quebec City, one in Ottawa, two in Montreal, and one in Moncton, N.B., thirteen in all. The men in its service are Emile Boisvert, Emile Massé, M.E. Barbey, J.E. Tétreault, E. Anex, Charles Foster, Nelson Thompson, John Gilmore, S.F. Gillespie, Maurice Boillat, Kenneth Seburn, Roger Dupont.

The Anglicans

The Anglicans entered this field of French evangelization in 1853. A young man of Sabrevois, by the name of Roy, found in his home a Bible which had been given to his grandfather by an officer of the British army. As his grandparents could not read, the book was laid among the rubbish and forgotten. The young boy began to read it and, with the help of an English neighbour, he studied it, with the result that he accepted Christ as his personal Saviour and was confirmed in the little Anglican church nearby.

His example was followed by the members of his family, who soon became members in full communion of the Church of England. Their neighbours became interested and wanted to know more about the Protestant religion. The Bishop, hearing of it, sent to them a French-speaking minister, who had spent thirteen years among the Indians. First, the missionary directed his attention to the children and gave them schooling. The grateful parents opened their homes to him and listened eagerly to his interpretation of the Christian religion. He catechized them and soon a congregation was organized.

Encouraged by this rapid development, the Church's missionary committee established a training college in nearby St. Jean, the third French Protestant school in the Province. Scarcity of funds and lack of accommodation restricted the number of students. Of the thirty seeking admission the year it opened, only ten were admitted. The situation improved and soon the school had over fifty young men and women under its roof, thanks to an adjoining house the Committee had acquired. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory and the Committee considered the advisability of transferring the establishment to Montreal, which was done in 1880.

The Roy family, the first in Sabrevois to renounce the Roman Catholic faith, gave seven ministers to the Church of England. The first to enter Holy Orders was Edouard who,

after his ordination, was placed in charge of the college. Josias was the second and, on his return from France, where he completed his theological studies, was appointed missionary in Montreal, in that part of the City not yet approached by any other denomination. He gathered his congregation in an empty storehouse which he had rented, and soon the need of a church became imperative. The committee went to work and in 1880, the Lord Bishop dedicated l'Eglise du Rédempteur. Next to it was a substantial, commodious building for the students of Sabrevois College.

The two were running bravely when in 1911 the Grand Trunk Railway expropriated the premises and the congregation moved up to Sherbrooke Street in the east end of Montreal, where a splendid church edifice was erected. As to the college, no suitable site was found and the educational work was finally abandoned.

At one time, the Anglicans had four churches in the Province, the one in Montreal, the others: St. Ursule, Sabrevois, South Ely, and the men engaged were the two brothers, Larivière, Henri Loisselle and Henri Benoît. L'Eglise du Rédempteur is the only French church that they now have.

The Methodists

As was to be expected, the Methodists, with their religious fervour, could not keep away from this evangelical revival. In 1855, they engaged two evangelists to preach the Gospel in French: François Pepin and Armand Parent.

Not much is known of Pepin; his work consisted mainly in surveying and exploring. Parent was a French Canadian who had to flee to the United States because he had fought on the side of the Rebels in the Rebellion of 1837. While across the border, he embraced Protestant Christianity in a Methodist Church. Prizing highly his newly-found interpretation of the Christ, he resolved to impart it to his compatriots of French descent. He returned to Canada and offered his services to the Canadian Methodist Church. They were accepted and so efficient was he in this work of evangelism that he was ordained in 1856. He served in Roxton Pond, Farnham, Oka, Roxton Falls and Montreal, and was able to rescue many souls that were drifting towards infidelity. He gave thirty years of devoted and faithful service to the Church.

The work spread and twenty years later, the records show, a dozen missionaries were doing aggressive work in various parts of the Province: Théodore Charbonnel, Jean Syvret, Thomas Dorion, Antoine Geoffroy, Mitchel Sadler, Armand Parent, Ed. de Gruchy (a native of the Island of Guernsey) and four lady teachers. One hundred and forty-four French Canadians had become members of the Methodist Church.

In 1877, at the invitation of Rev. Dr. Douglas, Principal of the Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal, there came to Montreal the Rev. Louis Beaudry, a French Canadian who had received his theological training in the United States and had served as chaplain in the American army.

Craig Street church, built by the French Canadian Missionary Society, was placed at his disposal, and there he began his ministry which was abundantly blessed. He soon made an impact on the religious life of the City. Every Sunday the church was filled to capacity and his mid-week prayer meetings were well attended. In 1880, he opened a school in the basement of the church, which became the French Methodist Institute, the fourth French Protestant residential school to be established in the Province, the destinies of which he guided until 1887. The following year, teachers and students were housed in a substantial, comfortable building, located in the City of Westmount. Like the two other educational institutions, the new school played an important part in spreading the benefits of education in Quebec. It operated until it was merged in 1929 with the Institut Francais Evangelique at Pointe-aux-Trembles. Hundreds of men and women owe to it the success they have achieved.

Louis Beaudry displayed a feverish activity. Besides directing the school, he was preaching and evangelizing. This overwork, however, undermined his health, and he was compelled to abandon his work, after ten years of distinguished service to the cause of religion and education.

His colleagues in the ministry, inspired by his great devotion and faith, and with renewed enthusiasm, continued to spread the Good News in Montreal and in the country. New fields were opened in Actonvale, St. Théodore, Béthanie, St. Philippe de Chester, St. Jovite, Lac des Isles and Mont Laurier. The men engaged in that work were Gédéon St. Aubin, Thomas Dorien, W. Grenier, S. Chartier, M. Mauny, J. Pinel, and conspicuous among these faithful workers, was Ed. de Gruchy, a firm believer in the old-fashioned Methodist methods and revival meetings. He had great success in open-air work, being gifted with a strong voice, which he used not only in preaching, but also in singing. Very often in the course of his sermon he would sing a hymn or a psalm.

At the beginning of the century, the Methodist Church had the residential school in Westmount, two French churches in Montreal and eight mission-fields in the country. The men working under its auspices were: Ed. de Gruchy, J. Pinel, Léopold Massicotte, Paul Villard, Jules Dentheny, Arthur Delport, Henri Poirier, Paul and William Chodat and W.T. Halpenny. At the time of Union in 1925, the number of churches had been reduced to five and the men still engaged in that work were: W.T. Halpenny, Leopold Massicotte, Paul Villard, the two Chodat brothers who became ministers of The United Church of Canada.

The Presbyterians

The Presbyterians have always shown a keen interest in the work of French **Evangelization**. They gave their full support to the French Missionary Society and were willing to serve as members of its Executive. It must not be forgotten that it was to Presbyterians in Scotland and in Geneva that the Society appealed for funds and workers.

When that body was dissolved in 1876, l'Institut Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles and most of the mission-fields it had opened and maintained in the Province, became the responsibility of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

As early as 1842, the Church of Scotland accepted the services of Emile Lapelletrie, who was a sort of a free lance missionary in Montreal. On the recommendation of the Synod, the Presbytery ordained him and assigned to him the heavy task of organizing a congregation in the City. A hall was rented in which he held services of worship, not only on Sundays, but also three or four times during the week. His days were spent in going from door to door, selling Bibles and inviting people to his services. That was arduous work which soon began to tell upon his health. He was given a sick leave and he returned to his native France in the hope that he would recover his strength, but God had decreed otherwise: he was not allowed to resume his work in Canada.

Two missionaries, by the names of Beridon and Jacquard about whom little is known, followed him in Montreal. Their work was so discouraging that Presbytery suspended the operation and for a while nothing was done. The Rev. Dr. Croil, writing many years after in the Presbyterian Record, said: "The history of missions among the French Canadians is a succession of disappointments".

In 1861, the veteran Emmanuel Tanner, who had supervised the undertaking in Montreal, gave up his connection with the French Canadian Missionary Society, and, with the members of his flock, joined the Presbyterians. The following year, a church edifice was erected on Dorchester Street, which was dedicated in 1863. Hope was revived and the new sponsors spared no effort to develop this new phase of their missionary enterprise. Their main activities however were confined to Montreal.

The Rev. Daniel Coussirat, a minister of the Reformed Church in France, was added to the staff of the Presbyterian College for the purpose of training French students for the Christian ministry. The first three were Rivet, Dionne and Côté, who rendered valuable services to the cause.

The work began to expand only after the Presbyterian bodies in Canada had united in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The new Church did not waste any time in making its contribution to the movement. It created a special body, the Board of French Evangelization, with headquarters in Montreal. Its mission was to spread the knowledge of the Gospel to all the inhabitants of Quebec. The members of that Board were convinced that, in making known the Good News to the French Canadians, they were doing a piece of work that had on it God's blessing and they discharged their duties with earnestness and enthusiasm.

One of those who took part in this work was Rev. Charles Chiniquy, a former Roman Catholic priest from Kamouraska. In his first parish, Beauport, he had established three or four schools and organized a temperance society.

In Kamouraska, he continued his crusade against drunkenness with such success that he was constantly called on for help in other parishes, and finally resigned his charge to devote all his time to the promotion of the temperance cause. His work was so outstanding that the Pope sent him a gold medal, which he wore until the end of his days.

In 1851, in response to a Call from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Chicago, he went to minister to a group of French Canadians who had settled on the plains of Illinois. It was here that, in 1858, he detached himself from the Roman Catholic Church, and, two years later, with his congregation, joined the Presbyterian Church. Yielding to the pressing solicitations of many of his compatriots, he made a visit of two months in Quebec, lecturing here and there, often amid scenes of tumult. It was not until 1876, however, that he returned to Canada permanently, at the invitation of the newly united Presbyterian Church in Canada, to work under its auspices. For twenty-three years he laboured, preaching and lecturing across the nation, and also abroad. His fearless exposure of the evils he had witnessed, his extraordinary eloquence and his facile pen, made him a notable force in the life of Quebec, and for a time it appeared that a mass movement into Protestantism was to sweep the French-Canadian population. He was in great demand as a speaker. His death took place in 1899, at the advanced age of ninety.

While maintaining the residential school and the mission-posts they had inherited from the French Canadian Missionary Society, the Presbyterians opened new fields in Montreal, in the Lower St. Lawrence, in the Ottawa and Gatineau valleys, in the Eastern Townships, and in Cornwall in Ontario. They made such an impact that at the turn of the century, the Presbyterian Church had twenty-seven French congregations and mission-fields in Quebec, and twenty-five workers, ministers, teachers and colporteurs. The men engaged in that work were: Calvin Amaron, Louis Abram, Pierre Beauchamp, Louis Bonnenfant, Pierre Boudreau, Moise Boudreau, Louis Bouchard, Sam Bourgoïn, Ismael Bruneau, C.F. Cruchon, Alfred Cruchet, Charles Doudiet, Rieul Duclos, S. Delagneau, Henri Joliat, Cleophas Lapointe, Jean Menançon, Moise Menard, G. Mosseau, Jean Rey, Samuel Rondeau, Jean Sincenne, Thomas St. Aubin, Charles Vessot, and Edmond Brandt, principal of l'Institut Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles. Calvin Amaron, son of the first missionaries, Daniel and Madame Amaron, by his lectures and writings, Edmond Brandt, by his stirring addresses throughout the Church, and Samuel Pondeau, as editor of l'Aurore, played a conspicuous part in the spread of that movement. The Board had made a fine showing and its members had reasons to be proud of their achievements.

Just then, many people in the Church began to question the propriety of such a crusade. The view they advanced was: it is most improper to proclaim evangelical truth to those who are already in possession of it. If Roman Catholics have lost faith in their Church and in organized religion, it is the responsibility of the Roman Church to take care of her lost sheep.

This view had a great deal to do with the dissolution of the Board of French Evangelization, which occurred in 1912. French work in the Presbyterian Church was placed under the Board of Home Missions. A policy of retrenchment was adopted and interest declined, with the result that many of these small French Protestant communities were neglected and finally disappeared, for lack of proper support.

When Union was consummated in 1925, l'Institut Français Evangélique at Pointe-aux-Trembles, owned and operated by the Presbyterian Church, and all the churches and mission fields maintained by the said Church entered The United Church of Canada. There were no anti-unionists among the French Presbyterian workers. All of them: Louis Abram, Joseph Boucher, Charles Biéler, Edmond Brandt, Henri Foucher, Hubert Fresque, Henri Joliat, Pierre LeBel, George Peck, Jean Rey and Samuel Rondeau, transferred their allegiance to the United Church.

For a while the new Church was not too enthusiastic, no doubt influenced by the view that French Canadians, being members of a Christian Church, should be left alone and not be importuned in any way. To do so is not only a waste of time and money, but an insult to worthy citizens. There was also that religious colonialism which still persisted, looking down on French-speaking Protestants as the poor relatives. That condescending attitude has disappeared and French workers have the assurance that the whole Church is behind their efforts.

The United Church has, in this year of 1963, six French pastoral charges and five mission-fields. Nine ordained ministers are at work: the Rev. Maurice Nerny in Ottawa, the Rev. Guy Deschamps in Namur, the Rev. Charles Pelletier in Valleyfield, Rev. Joseph Boucher in St. Hyacinthe, Rev. R. Nelis in Pointe-aux-Trembles and three in the City of Montreal, the Rev. Jacques Beaudon of l'Eglise St. Jean, the Rev. Matthieu Ouellet of le Sauveur and the Rev. Hervé Fines of Bethanie, and the Rev. Carson Duquette, minister-at-large.

The continuing Presbyterians who were left without a French church at the time of Union entered the field of French evangelization in 1934. They opened a mission in Montreal which has become Eglise St. Luc, now one of the leading French congregations in the City. Its minister is the Rev. Dr. André Poulain, having as assistant, Gilles Warnery, director of Christian Education. They have two other French pastoral charges; l'Eglise des Cantons de l'Est in Melbourne and St. Marc's in Quebec City.

The Salvation Army

In 1886, the Salvation Army, realizing the necessity of preaching the Gospel to the French Canadians, established a French Corps in Montreal, under the command of Adjutant Rioux, a woman of faith, energy and perseverance. Overwork took its toll on her health and she had to relinquish her post. She was followed by Commandant Robert, an officer of wide experience.

In 1897 a young Lieutenant from France, Noemi Cabrit, landed in Montreal, and shortly after her coming, had to assume the full charge of the Corps, as Commandant Robert was compelled by ill health to retire. For twenty-six years she laboured in the worst section of the City, visiting the sick, feeding the hungry and bringing the light of salvation to those in trespasses and sin. Many are the souls she uplifted and kept on the straight and narrow path. Her work elicited high praise from Protestants and Catholics, Jews and unbelievers. When in 1923, worn out with hard work, she returned to her native France, a judge of the Superior Court of Quebec, himself a devout Roman Catholic, paid from the Bench a fine tribute to her devotion and the magnificent contribution she had made to the moral health of the City. "We have lost", he said, "a truly dedicated woman". If the French Corps of the Salvation Army enjoys the respect and admiration of all the citizens, it is due to the faithfulness, earnestness and kindness of Noemi Cabrit.

Adjutant Berger and his wife followed her and in 1926, they were succeeded by Brigadier Brokenshire, who is still holding forth, keeping up the fine traditions that had been established.

The Evangelical Sects

The Christian Brethren:

They have been at work, among the French Canadians for over fifty years. They have not made much headway in Montreal, but they have a fairly strong cause in Cap de la Madeleine, also in Sherbrooke and in the Lake St. John region. Valleyfield is the last place they have invaded and they are finding the going hard.

The Pentecostals:

The French Pentecostal movement began in Montreal in the mid-thirties. Louis Dutaud, a French Baptist minister, was the initiator who gathered few French Protestants whose place of worship had just been closed. Aggressive evangelists came to his aid and soon congregations sprang up. They opened a school in one of the suburbs for the purpose of training workers and the venture was a success. The largest French Protestant church in Quebec today belongs to the Pentecostals.

The Christian Assemblies, or Apostolics:

Several groups, called Christian Assemblies, or Apostolics, offshoots of the Pentecostals, are found in many towns and cities of the Province: Montreal, Granby, Sherbrooke, Drummondville, Thetford Mines, la Tuque and Quebec.

The Fellowship Baptists:

Then there are the Fellowship Baptists who have preaching stations in Lachute, Hull, Valleyfield and the Northwest region of Quebec.

August, 1963.

Rev. J.E. Boucher, D.D.,
St. Hyacinthe, Quebec.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS
TO THE CULTURAL LIFE OF CANADA

The French Protestants have made a contribution to the Canadian culture. The first missionaries from Switzerland and France were not only ardent evangelists, but educationalists. They founded and maintained schools, wherever it was their lot to preach the Gospel. The house which sheltered the missionary was a school as well as a place of worship, and soon higher schools were established. This movement went on, and at the turn of the century, there were in Quebec four secondary schools, operating under the auspices of the Protestant Churches. These institutions were instrumental in opening the intelligence of their students to the beauty and riches of French and English literature. It is no exaggeration to say that notable advances in education, among the French Canadians, have been due to the influence of these small French Protestant schools.

This movement, inaugurated by Madame Feller and Louis Roussy and the French Canadian Missionary Society, has produced men of more than ordinary culture. Narcisse Cyr, educated in Feller, founded the first French Protestant paper in Canada, *Le semeur*. He was for many years its publisher and editor and his primary concern was to raise the intellectual level of his readers. At the time illiteracy was still rampant in Quebec.

Laurent Rivard, who had studied at the Pointe-aux-Trembles Institut Français, devoted his musical talents to setting to music short religious poems and scores of his melodies are found in the Hymnary, in use in most of our French Protestant churches.

Joseph Provost wrote a short novel, *La Maison du Coteau*, which had many editions, and his contemporary and colleague, Rieul Duclos, wrote the "*Histoire du Protestantisme Français au Canada*" a major work to which the author devoted several years of his time.

Alfred Cruchet published, at the request of his parishioners and Eugène Reveillaud, the French historian and statesman, a volume of his sermons. He became one of the editorialists of *L'Avenir du Nord*, a weekly published in St-Jérôme.

Henri Benôit wrote a large number of booklets and tracts on the Anglican Church. He was the principal of Sabrevois College, and when that educational institution closed its doors, he was appointed rector of l'Eglise du Rédempteur, a parish which he served until the time of his death.

Daniel Coussirat, professor of Hebrew in McGill University and of theology in the Presbyterian College, belonged to a number of learned societies. When French biblical scholars decided to revise the French version of the Bible, they asked Dr. Coussirat to translate portions of the Old Testament, which he did. His articles in *l'Aurore* and old country French papers were widely read, and in

recognition of his culture and scholarship, the French Academy made him "Officier de l'Instruction Publique", a coveted distinction.

Théodore Lafleur, for many years minister of l'Oratoire, the leading French Baptist Church in Montreal, by his great eloquence and his ready pen, aroused many of his compatriots to an interest in matters of religion and education. His weekly column in l'Aurore was read avidly by the intelligentsia of Montreal. His three sons distinguished themselves in their respective spheres. Paul, professor of comparative literature in McGill, Henri, an outstanding physician and heart specialist, and Eugène, who won international fame as a lawyer. From the pen of Paul Villard, professor of French literature at McGill, we have a history of L'Alliance Française in Montreal, a book that was crowned by the French Academy.

Samuel Rondeau, for twenty-seven years editor of l'Aurore, the organ of French Protestantism in Canada and in the United States, left his mark in journalism. Pasteur Jacques Beaudon has written a book, Introduction to the Study of the New Testament. All these men have given a certain lustre of brilliance to the French Canadian culture. CREDO, the French United Church paper, is making its contribution to the cultural enrichment of Quebec. It is read by a large number of professional men and university professors. Its readers, many of whom are Roman Catholic priests, find in it food for thought and a breadth of view which appeals to ecumenically-minded persons. The high quality of its articles and its emphasis on Christian Unity make it welcome in many intellectual circles.

It is thanks to Credo that the United Church is so well known in Quebec. The elite of the French Canadians know what we believe and what is our attitude towards bilingualism and biculturalism. They have a true image of the United Church.

That is the contribution of the French Protestants to the cultural life of Canada and to a better understanding between the two major groups of our nation.

Rev. J.E. Boucher

EDUCATION

Consistent with the belief of the Reformed churches, the United Church of Canada is convinced that educational services must be provided for every citizen, consequently it continues to support various schools and colleges in several provinces where special services are desirable or necessary to supplement the systems of public education. All these institutions, however, are open to persons of every faith, the principal concern being to preserve a Christian atmosphere and to encourage sound learning.

The United Church of Canada believes that it is the responsibility of religious Christian parents to ensure the education of their children. Where the basic services are provided by public authorities, as they are in all the provinces of Canada, it is satisfied with common schools, which are attended by children of all religious groups and where a spirit of tolerance may prevail. While the common school must be maintained as a secular institution, its program and atmosphere must conform to the general spirit of the community as a whole. Judeo-Christian traditions should be respected but no child should be required to participate in religious exercises against the wishes of his parents.

The United Church of Canada believes that religious teaching is primarily the responsibility of the home and the church. While there should be no basic conflict between the teaching of the school and the family, the responsibility for religious instruction and practice must be assumed, in the first place by the parent, and, in the second, by the religious authorities. In a pluralist society, these duties cannot be left to the community as a whole.

Nevertheless, it is the opinion of The United Church of Canada that, since the constitution and law of Canada and its provinces is based on the traditions, language and customs of Great Britain and France, parents should have the right to educate their children either in English or French. Obviously this right will be applied differently in the various provinces but it should be generally respected throughout Canada. Further consideration should also be given to the needs of other language groups, so that Canadian nationhood may represent a blending of the various cultures rather than the rejection and exclusion of all but the two original ones.

In the past, the emphasis in our educational policies has too often been on the preservation of certain attitudes and values, to the neglect of any efforts to interpret one group to another. Tolerance is based on understanding and bigotry is usually the result of ignorance. In spite of their sectional, cultural and linguistic differences, Canadians have a common history, a common heritage, a Canadian identity. The teaching of history in our schools, the cultivation of civic values among our citizens, should be inspired by sound and sympathetic scholarship and practice.

The experience of The United Church of Canada in blending three denominational traditions confirms our hope that similar benefits may result from a better understanding of our history and a clearer appreciation of the contribution which may be made by each constituent group.

Prof. David Munroe

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH TO ETHNIC GROUPS

Charter

One of the opening sentences in the Basis of Union of The United Church of Canada reads:

"It shall be the policy of this Church to foster the spirit of Unity in the hope that this spirit will embody itself, so far as Canada is concerned, in a Church which can fully be described as national."

Taking up the challenge, and following the lead which parent churches forming this Union took prior to 1925, The United Church of Canada has, as her charter, the call to bring a vital ministry to all the people of Canada who look to her for spiritual direction. Whether it be the country setting of Western Canada or the teeming throngs which congregate in large centres, the need is evident and the call is to meet this need, no matter how difficult it may be, so that the Gospel may be preached and Christian service rendered in a way the people will understand.

Unity in Diversity

Few if any congregations throughout the land fail to receive persons and families from different ethnic origins at regular intervals, but there are "Churches of All Nations" or "All Peoples" Churches which have made a special emphasis of this inclusive witness to every person within their reach. In so doing, a new chapter in Christian witness has been written by the Canadian Church since this pattern has been peculiar to our own country and the needs of her peoples. On a given Sunday, besides French and English, our mother tongues in Canada, ministries are carried on in Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Portugese, Russian, several Slavic languages and three Indian dialects.

Institutional Churches

To meet the needs of certain situations, the assistance of the whole Church has been behind the organizations which have pioneered in this field - and what are called "Institutional Churches" have been set up. Here ministries are rendered when and where they are needed, and they are subsidized by the Church as a whole when local resources are insufficient to provide for this leadership. There is great variety in this service since no two areas are the same and the needs which must be met are as demanding as the situations are different. The key to this work is flexibility and adaptability since world situations, employment opportunities in our own economy, and the flow of immigration make for a state of continual flux.

'Hotel' Churches?

In a typical situation, where Ukrainian and Czechoslovakian ministries were very much needed a few years ago, services are now conducted in German, Finnish and in Hungarian; a new need for leadership among a great many Portuguese families must be met; over the space of a decade the whole character of a community and the needs have changed. Still, here in this typical setting, congregations composed of the persons who live nearby meet with their own ministers, using common buildings and equipment, and at regular intervals come together to share in a common life and witness. Second and third generation Ukrainian people who have added a working knowledge of English or French to their native tongue are prepared to become a part of the United Church in their home community. The Portuguese, for the time being at least, need to be together, worshipping in their own language and joining in fellowship with their fellows who, like them, have come to this country recently. It is true that in a good many instances these ethnic or 'language' churches, as they have been called, exist only for a time during which they serve a real need, but may not become permanent forms of organization and thus they may be likened to 'hotel' Churches.

Ethnic publications

In addition to language classes which are very often conducted for newcomers in the churches, papers in their own language assist with an understanding of the Canadian government, customs, and patterns of business and church life. Periodicals are published regularly in Italian - 'La Favilla', in Finnish - 'Viesti', in Cree - 'Spiritual Light', and also periodically in Chinese, Japanese and German. These materials, which are subsidized by the Churches as a whole, are distributed among persons of the particular racial or ethnic group across Canada.

The future

The United Church of Canada has been formed by persons of many varied ethnic backgrounds and origins coming together in this land to make this fellowship to be a sharing of common beliefs and practice. She must continue and enlarge this same pattern so that the Christian Gospel may speak and be intelligible to every Canadian. Only in this way can Canada's people be united in a strong enough bond - the bond of service to all mankind.

Pev. E.K. Shorten

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BRIEF

PRESENTED TO

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

BY

THE UNITED BAPTIST CONVENTION OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES
Committee on Protestant Affairs

Representing:

610	Churches
311	Ordained Ministers
135	Licentiates
200,000	People

B R I E F

P R E S E N T E D T O

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CONTENT

I. SUMMARY - SOMMAIRE	Page 2
II. INTRODUCTION	4
III. THE MEANING OF THE PAST	6
a) The Beginnings	6
b) Social and Economic Aspects	9
c) Political Aspect	10
d) Religion and Language	13
IV. PRESENT ISSUES	16
a) Reactionary Movements	16
1. Self-examination	16
2. Anti-clericalism	17
3. Lay Movement	18
4. Nationalism	19
5. Separatism	20
b) Bilingualism	21
c) Biculturalism	25
d) Canada, One or Two Nations?	28
e) Equal Partnership	30
V. RECOMMENDATIONS	32
a) "Slowly but Surely"	32
b) Dissociation of Language and Religion	33
c) Separation of Church and State	34
d) Federal System of Education	34
e) Integration, not Segregation	35
f) Teaching of Languages	36
g) Student Exchange	36
h) Canadian History	36
i) Canadian Culture	37
j) Strong Federalism	38
VI. CONCLUSION	38
VII. TRANSLATION OF FRENCH REFERENCES	41
VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY	44

I. SUMMARY

The central thesis of this brief holds that Canadian bilingualism and biculturalism have been historically rooted in religion. The meaning of the past is therefore of major importance in the understanding of the Canadian problem. From the beginnings, as well as from the social, economic and political aspects, it can be seen that a typical philosophy of life inspired largely by the church has in the past prevented the French Canadian from accepting the place in the Canadian Sun to which he aspires today.

The increasing sense of frustration thus created has led to many of the present issues, such as the various reactionary movements (anti-clericalism, lay movement, nationalism, separatism), bilingualism and biculturalism.

Canada must be one nation (not two) where equality belongs to all citizens, regardless of cultural background, but where a sense of proportion according to population is respected.

The present crisis requires above all patience. Various recommendations towards a lasting solution include: Dissociation of language and religion, separation of church and state, the possibility of a Federal system of education, a general policy of integration, teaching of languages from the early grades, a system of student exchange between French and English Canada, a rewriting of Canadian history, a typically Canadian culture with the feasibility of a Minister of Cultural Affairs, and a generally strong federalism. Canadians of various origins must learn to think of themselves as being first CANADIANS.

I. SOMMAIRE

La thèse centrale de ce mémoire maintient que le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme canadiens ont historiquement leurs racines dans la religion. La signification du passé joue par conséquent un rôle d'importance majeure dans la compréhension du problème canadien. Depuis les débuts jusqu'aux aspects sociaux, économiques et politiques, il est évident qu'une philosophie de vie typique inspirée principalement par l'église a empêché le Canadien français de prendre au Canada, dans le passé, la place à laquelle il aspire aujourd'hui.

La frustration ainsi créée a engendré bon nombre de problèmes

actuels, tels que les mouvements réactionnaires (anticléricalisme, mouvement laïque, nationalisme, séparatisme), le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.

Le Canada doit se concevoir comme étant un peuple (non deux) où l'égalité est assurée à chaque citoyen nonobstant son origine culturelle, mais où le sens de proportion relatif à la population est cependant respecté.

La crise présente exige avant tout de la patience. Nos différentes recommandations en vue d'une solution permanente comprennent: la dissociation de la langue et de la religion, la séparation de l'église et de l'état, la possibilité d'un système fédéral d'éducation, une politique générale d'intégration, l'enseignement des langues à partir des premières années d'école, un système d'échange d'étudiants entre le Canada anglais et le Canada français, un nouveau livre d'histoire du Canada, une culture typiquement canadienne avec l'établissement éventuel d'un Ministre des Affaires Culturelles, ainsi qu'un fédéralisme généralement accentué. Les Canadiens de différentes origines doivent apprendre à se penser premièrement CANADIENS.

II. INTRODUCTION

The central thesis of the present brief stems from the conviction that Canadian bilingualism and biculturalism have been historically rooted in religion. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to understand and endeavour to solve the current ethnical problems without taking into account an element which from the beginning has permeated all phases of French Canadian life. This approach will of necessity lead to an extensive study of the past, but it may well be, in the final analysis, that history will play the dominant role in the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. For history repeats itself and, in so doing, has a way of teaching us how to interpret the present by the past. It is primarily on the examination of the causes responsible for "The two solitudes" within Confederation that our recommendations will be based.

We accept the premise that the average French Canadian, throughout the history of this country, has held an inferior position to that of his English counter-part. We agree that equality has been almost unknown to the French Canadian. We concede that the demands of French Canada which led to the appointment of this Commission must be considered sympathetically. At the same time, we insist upon a clear definition of the causes behind the present grievances; for if it can be shown that the traditional lot of the French Canadian does not in fact result from his alleged position of a "conquered people" (as he feels it to be), but from other factors, then much will have been accomplished towards removing the feeling of distrust and apathy so characteristic in Canadian history. Jean C. Falardeau expressed it well when he said: "L'histoire du Canada contemporain est l'histoire des tensions, du rapprochement graduel et de l'accommodement politique entre les Canadiens de langue française et les Canadiens de langue anglaise. La symbiose de ces deux peuples qui n'ont pas choisi de vivre ensemble a été souvent appelée un ¹ mariage de raison". We really have not been on speaking terms for over two centuries.

1. Jean C. Falardeau, Dualité Canadienne (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto - Laval, 1960, p. 20

Pierre Chauveau, in 1876, likened the Canada of that day to the famous staircase of the Château de Chambord, so constructed that two persons could mount it without meeting and without seeing each other except at intervals: "English and French, we climb by a double flight of stairs toward the destinies reserved for us on this continent, without knowing each other, without meeting each other, and without even seeing each other, except on the landing of politics. In social and literary terms, we are far more foreign to each other² than the English and French of Europe." If Chauveau were here today, he would doubtless add an epilogue to his analogy exclaiming that the two solitudes had finally met in the arena of a Royal Commission. Another artificial or forced meeting? It is too soon to tell. One fact is certain, the two Canadian solitudes are no longer hiding, "they are on stage, or should we say on trial". Seldom before have so many Canadians been so conscious of their identity, or perhaps more truly, their lack of it. There is a sense of insecurity, some being afraid of losing a traditional position, others demanding a place in the Sun.³

If the results of the present enquiry are to be successful, there must be on the part of all groups sincerity, kindness, understanding, but also frankness. That in itself may be at times difficult to achieve for, as someone who wrote on the subject pointed out: "In public many things are left unsaid, sometimes because it is difficult to say them without sounding more intolerant than shrewdness would allow; sometimes because of a genuine desire⁴ to avoid irritating members of a group different from one's own." The foregoing is particularly true with reference to the things dearest to us, namely creed, culture and language, in that order. But frankness there can be, and indeed there must be if we are sincerely interested in strengthening national unity. It is in this spirit that our views are being presented with the sincere hope that they may so be received.

2. P.J.O. Chauveau, L'Instruction publique au Canada (Quebec, 1876) p. 335

3. Malcolm Ross, Our Sense of Identity (Toronto: Ryerson, 1954) p. lx

4. Norman Ward, Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto - Laval, 1960, p. 261

III. THE MEANING OF THE PAST

In concluding that "the history of French Canada is, to a large extent, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada", the well known sociologist at Laval University, Jean C. Falardeau, has probably crystallized in a sentence the fundamental issues of bilingualism and biculturalism. Elaborating on his premise, sociologist Falardeau states: "Un élément déterminant de la mentalité du Canadien français est sa religion. La perception qu'il a des 'autres' et la notion qu'il a de ses relations avec les autres dérivent d'une conception de son histoire et de lui-même qu'il tient, au point de départ, de l'Eglise. C'est par l'Eglise qu'il est socialisé. Sa psychologie, sous plus d'un rapport, est d'inspiration théologique. Il n'a pas une condition humaine à comprendre et à assurer. Il a une condition sacrale à défendre et à conserver".⁵ How this association of creed and culture became so intimate can best be seen in some specific areas of French Canadian life.

a) The Beginnings

The royal government, the seignioral system, and the Roman Catholic Church, were the three pillars on which rested the social and political structure of the settled colony of New France. Of the three, the church was by no means the least important, as its influence pervaded the whole of colonial life. Historian McInnis remarked that "the clergy took a direct and active part in the political and economic life of the colony and linked both these aspects intimately with the spiritual life, over which they exercised a unique and unchallenged control".⁶ It was natural enough, therefore, although not necessarily in his best interest, that the French Canadian should continue to lean heavily upon the church after the conquest and Treaty of Paris of 1763.

5. Jean C. Falardeau, Dualité Canadienne (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto - Laval 1960, p. 27

6. Edgar McInnis, Canada, A Political and Social History (Rinehart & Company: Toronto, 1954) p. 69

The transfer of sovereignty from the King of France to the King of England brought about by the Treaty of Paris became also, as Professor F. F. Scott has pointed out: "An early example of British institutions of government being first imposed upon, and then accepted by, a non-British people, who in other respects guarded jealously their own laws and customs".⁷ And it was probably this dichotomy which eleven years later resulted in what has been termed the "Magna Carta" of the French Canadian people, the Quebec Act of 1774. Although critical historians have called it "a measure of unprecedented generosity toward a conquered people, but generosity in the interest of reaction", it was this historic document which should until this day make the Province of Quebec "different" from the others. Ironically enough, the church found itself freer after the conquest than it had been under French rule: "Au bout du compte, malgré bien des tracasseries, l'Eglise était sans doute plus libre après la conquête qu'elle ne l'était à la fin du régime français".⁸ But besides guaranteeing the retention of the church's leading position in French Canadian life, the Quebec Act ensured that the Province of Quebec would continue to be based on French law and the French Civil Code. It can be questioned whether the presence of two different systems of law within Canada would not tend to set the two cultures further apart rather than unite them, a point that ought to be carefully considered in any proposed revision of the Constitutional Act. That Sir John A. MacDonald had some doubt on the matter is made clear in a letter which he wrote to his friend Campbell: "I look to the future in this matter.....farther ahead, perhaps than I should. But are we not founding a nation? Now just consider for yourself - what a country of millions, lying between English Canada and the Atlantic will be. I have no objections to the French as French or as Catholics, but the block caused by the introduction of French law and the Civil Code would be very great".⁹ While it is true that a new principle of empire was laid down by the Quebec Act in that it was recognized that

7. F.R. Scott, Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto - Laval, 1960, p.81

8. Fernand Dumont, L'Eglise et le Québec (Réflexions sur l'Histoire Religieuse du Canada Français) Montreal, Ed. du Jour 1961, p. 49-50

9. G.V. Ferguson, Quoted in Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) 1960, p.14

the French Canadians could be British without becoming English, the question became more acute in the frame of Confederation where a closer bond to a central power was to be the natural outcome.

What might be called the first Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was appointed in the person of Lord Durham, who in the 1830's was commissioned to Canada for the purpose of investigating the political difficulties of those years. "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people" wrote Lord Durham, "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle not of principles, but of races"¹⁰. By recommending that the French Canadians be simply assimilated into the English population as a practical solution, Lord Durham only increased the solidarity of the former, at the same time reviving French nationalism. He accidentally demonstrated the folly of trying to impose a language and culture on a people unwilling to accept them, a lesson not to be forgotten in present day Canada. In all fairness to Lord Durham, however, it must be said that it was partially his concern for the betterment of the French Canadians which motivated his recommendation. "It is to elevate them from that inferiority", he said, "that I desire to give the French Canadians our English character...If they prefer remaining stationary, the greater part of them must be labourers in the employ of English capitalists...The evils of poverty and dependence would merely be aggravated in a ten fold degree, by a spirit of jealous and resentful nationality"¹¹.

If historical events are any guide to the discovery of underlying ideologies, one cannot ignore the fact that these beginnings had a profound influence on the future of Canada. In fact, many of the present difficulties have their roots in them. Pierre Elliott Trudeau goes as far as saying that "fundamentally, all French - Canadian political thinking stems from these historical beginnings"¹².

10. Durham Report (Coupland ed. Oxford: 1945) p. 15

11. Ibid., p. 241

12. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto - Laval, 1960 p. 244

b) Social and Economic Aspects

The nature of things was such that almost the entire social and economic development of the French Canadians was centered around the church. "Point n'est besoin d'une longue enquête sociologique", wrote a Roman Catholic priest, "pour découvrir l'importance sociale du religieux dans le Québec car toute l'organisation de l'éducation, l'évolution du problème ouvrier ainsi que les oeuvres d'assistance publique, dépendent pratiquement du pouvoir ecclésiastique".¹³

As already has been pointed out by sociologist Falardeau, it is through the church that the French Canadian was socialized, particularly through education which has been traditionally the responsibility of the church in the Province of Quebec. In a real sense, it is through education that a great deal of our philosophy of life is born. In emphasizing the humanities and religious instruction, French Canadian education was naturally weak in the sciences, a fact which has had direct bearing on the economic development. Premier Jean Lesage confirmed this relationship when he stated: "It is necessary at this point to remember that a certain interpretation of history had resulted in creating the idea in the Province of Quebec that the fate of the French Canadian people was limited exclusively to the safeguarding of their traditional values. This idea made him lose sight of all the things that they could also do on the material side, without in any way betraying what they chose to call their 'cultural heritage'".¹⁴

The interpretation to which Mr. Lesage referred can be clearly seen in a discourse made by Mgr. L. A. Paquet: "Le Canadien français a par dessein providentiel une vocation agricole; il doit laisser à d'autres les soucis de la vie économique et industrielle, 'matérialiste.' Son génie propre doit le river ou le faire retourner à la terre. Les instruments de son destin sont la croix et la charrue".¹⁵

13. T.R.P. Louis M. Régis, O.P. Ibid. p. 61

14. Honourable Jean Lesage, French Canada Today (Ed. C. F. MacRae) Mount Allison University, 1961, p. 11

15. Mgr. L. A. Paquet, Quoted by Jean C. Falardeau in Canadian Dualism, Toronto Laval, 1960, p. 30

It was this sense of mission which "riveted the French Canadian to the Cross and the Plow" which increasingly widened the gap between him and his English - speaking neighbour who had "succumbed to a worldly and materialistic life". In brief, the philosophy of the French Canadian came very close to regarding poverty as a virtue and economic prosperity as detrimental to the faith. Since English - speaking Protestants were generally in the latter category, they were to be avoided rather than sought, pitied rather than envied. This essential difference must be taken into consideration when French Canadian economic grievances are being voiced, as they are not historically the result of English oppression (as is often maintained), but rather the logical consequence of a traditional philosophy of life. Again an authority testified: "One suspects that the traditional bias of Quebec's culture against engineering education has been an important inhibiting influence on Quebec's manufacturing growth, and it has certainly been an important factor leading to the paucity of French-Canadian managers and executives in the province's industry. For while engineers do not necessarily become entrepreneurs, they often supply ideas for promoters, or at least translate promoters' ideas into practicable plans".¹⁶ It will be noted later that great changes have taken place in late years, but it does remain true that the roots of the present tensions are not of recent origin. It is an understanding and acceptance of them which above all is needed.

c) Political Aspect

French and English Canadians have from the days of Conquest held basically different views of politics, a factor not to be underestimated in any effort to reconcile Canadian dualism. "French Canadians are Catholics" wrote Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "and Catholic nations have not always been ardent supporters of democracy. They are authoritarian in spiritual matters; and since the dividing line between the spiritual and the temporal may be very fine or even confused, they are often

16. J. H. Dales, Ibid. p. 221

disinclined to seek solutions in temporal affairs through the mere counting of heads. If this be true in general, it is particularly so in the case of the clergy and laity of Quebec, influenced as they were by the Catholicism of nineteenth - century France, which largely rejected democracy as the daughter of the Revolution".¹⁷ It was therefore in trying to safeguard the faith that the church came to assume what in fact amounted to political authority.

It must not be forgotten either that the French regime being implicitly founded on a belief in divine right of kingship, the French Canadian, as Falardeau maintained, "n'a pas eu peine à accepter les préceptes paternalistes de soumission, non plus qu'à se désintéresser de son destin temporel. De la démocratie, il n'a pas et ne pourra jamais acquérir la conception que s' en fait l'Anglo - Saxon, à savoir celle d'une philosophie politique et d'un style de vie".¹⁸

The many difficulties between Church and State in the nineteenth century undoubtedly aggravated the problems of race and religion while at the same time thwarting any French Canadian advance towards civic responsibility. In his study of the question, Mr. Lapierre concluded that "L'intime association politique entre le politicien et le prêtre fit une question politique de chaque dispute religieuse et une question religieuse de chaque dispute politique; avec le résultat que le politicien au lieu de prendre ses responsabilités, se cacha, comme il le fit pendant la tourments des Ecoles du Manitoba, sous la soutane des évêques et des prêtres".¹⁹ It is principally this type of politico - religious situation which led to what has been called the "political inferiority complex" of the French Canadian.

Again it needs to be said that the last few years, (termed the "silent revolution" in Quebec) have seen a notable change in this area. But is it not reasonable to hold that the long period of confusion between church and politics has largely contributed to the present unrest and attitude of French Canada towards English Canada?

17. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Ibid., p. 247

18. Jean C. Falardeau, Ibid. p.31

19. Laurier L. Lapierre, L'Eglise et le Québec (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961, p. 44

Not to remain unsaid is the fact that English Canada too often exploited the political weakness of the French Canadian for, as Trudeau has said "English - speaking Canadians have long behaved in national politics as though they believed that democracy was not for French Canadians. This is forcefully confirmed by English - Canadian behaviour in local politics in Quebec. In precisely that province where the people had been historically conditioned to believe that government is a function of wealth and power rather than the will of the majority, it so happened that English - speaking Canadians had wealth and power but not numbers."²⁰ The conclusion then follows that large amounts are being offered as bribes at every election in Quebec. And this money, it is stressed, comes from large corporations and wealthy enterprises controlled by English money.

To what extent the union between Church and State still exists in French Canada today is perhaps difficult to assess. Suffice it to say that it would be unrealistic constructively to attempt an analysis of the present Canadian situation without an astute assessment of a question which has an undeniable link with that of bilingualism and biculturalism. That the connection is still intimate may be gathered from the following statement: "Voilà pourquoi, dans un pays comme le Québec, où l'Eglise est omniprésente et joue un rôle prépondérant dans la vie sociale, ce serait irréaliste de vouloir que les hommes politiques feignent de l'ignorer ou la considèrent comme un groupe religieux parmi d'autres. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant que chez nous, de pair avec le statut de séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat, il existe, en pratique,²¹ un mode de coopération qui voisine le statut d'union."

Considering the political aspect of the "two solitudes", one can readily see why they have remained such and perhaps better understand the reason for today's dissensions. The conclusion is best stated in Mr. Trudeau's words when he wrote: "Historically, French Canadians have not really believed in democracy for themselves; and English Canadians have

20. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto Laval, 1960 p. 256 - 257

21. Louis O'Neill, Ptre, L'Eglise et le Québec (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961) p. 72

not really wanted it for others. Such are the foundations upon which two ethnic groups have absurdly pretended to be building democratic forms of government. No wonder the ensuing structure has turned out to be rather flimsy. No amount of inter - group back - slapping or political bonne-ententisme will change the fact that democracy will continue to be thwarted in Canada so long as one-third of the people hardly believe in it - and that because to no small extent the remaining two-thirds provide them with ample grounds for distrusting it."²²

d) Religion and Language

It is without a doubt in the realm of religion that the difference of mentality between French and English is most marked in Canada. "With the problem of religion" wrote Dr. Kirkconnell of Acadia University, "we come to one of the basic issues in a bicultural country such as Canada. At least, the distinction between the two main cultural groups is most commonly thought of in religious terms."²³ If Dr. Kirkconnell's judgment is correct, it is surprising, to say the least, that so little has so far been heard in this connection during the numerous hearings of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It would be serious indeed if this aspect were to be ignored or avoided on account of its nature, for political reasons, or simply on the ground of religious tolerance. Now that a new religious climate openly accepts and even advocates changes in the church, the task of looking into this delicate but pertinent matter ought to be considerably easier.

It is a fact of Canadian history that the English Canadians have been predominantly Protestant and the French Canadians overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. For that reason, the English Protestant tends to think of the French Canadian as a Roman Catholic par excellence. From that standpoint alone, there has been an association of language and religion. It is not, however, the main cause for it.

It has already been stated that the sense of mission ever present throughout French Canadian history is principally religious, with the result that the type of Roman Catholicism in French Canada

22. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Canadian Dualism (Ed. Mason Wade) Toronto Laval, 1960 p. 241

23. Watson Kirkconnell, *Ibid.*, p. 41

is what might be called "French Canadian Catholicism". Jean C. Falardeau explained it this way: "Le catholicisme du Canadien français est de langue française, comme en ont fait l'expérience tous les Catholiques 'étrangers' qui ont été en contact ou qui ont vécu avec des Canadiens français, qu'ils fussent Irlandais établis au Canada depuis plusieurs²⁴ générations, Italiens ou Belges." It has been reputedly said that in Quebec City, not too long ago, those who attended St. Patrick's Roman Catholic church were accused of attending "Protestant Mass" !

The marriage of language and religion in French Canada has given birth to one of its most firmly anchored convictions, namely "language, the guardian of the faith." Never have two concepts so distant in theory been so intimately related in practice. Speaking of the French Canadian and his religion, Falardeau said: "Sa religion-trésor est aussi une religion-rempart. Depuis toujours, il a identifié religion et langue française. 'La langue, gardienne de la foi' est une des convictions les²⁵ plus profondément gravées dans l'âme Canadienne française."

Those most conscious of this firm conviction have been the French-speaking Canadians whose faith was other than Roman Catholic. Many Canadians of French origin have over the years abandoned their language on account of the false idea that "to speak French was to speak Roman Catholic and to speak English was to speak Protestant". It is only very recently that a more ready acceptance of French-speaking Protestants has been noted, although it is yet far from being satisfactory.

This close association of language and religion has perhaps been the main cause of tension between French and English in this country. More than any other single factor, it has discouraged the respective learning of either language on the ground that to the English majority the learning of the French language meant the studying of the catechism, while to the French majority the use of the English language signified the endorsement of the Reformation. Wrongly, but deeply, to this day, the lack of mutual interest in Canada's two main languages stems from the

24. Jean C. Falardeau, Ibid., p. 30

25. Jean C. Falardeau, Ibid., p.29

unfortunate and erroneous association of language and religion. English-speaking Roman Catholics and French-speaking Protestants can make the greatest contribution in dispelling the two-century-old myth that French and Roman Catholic are synonymous as English and Protestant are identical. The myth once and for all removed (and it will need the assistance of education), the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism will be rid of one of its major obstacles.

Turning now to the content of religion itself, it will be seen that the very religious belief of the French Canadian has made him suspicious of his English compatriot. The following citation is based on the traditional belief (until the recent correction made by Vatican Council II) held by Roman Catholics that Protestants are heretics. Referring to the French-Canadian, Falardeau says: "Il divise l'univers en deux catégories d'hommes: les Catholiques, et ceux qui ne le sont pas. Plus exactement: les Catholiques, et les 'païens'. C'est d'après ce clivage élémentaire que non seulement il départage mais qu'il juge et évalue les hommes et les civilisations, y compris les peuples 'protestants' dont font partie ses compatriotes de langue anglaise. Il est lui-même dans la catégorie des privilégiés, déjà sauvés. Entre lui et autres, protestants et païens, il y a une distance infranchissable. Nous touchons ici, on le devine, le rempart souvent le moins visible mais le plus résistant dans les relations entre les Canadiens français, Catholiques, et les Canadiens anglais, Protestants. Le Canadien français oppose confusément mais obstinément à tout ce qui n'est pas catholique une fin de non-recevoir. Le Canadien français voit dans son compatriote anglophone protestant un être avec qui il ne peut entrer en contact sans risque, peut-être pas sans contamination...Il les craint et les évite. Le catholicisme du Canadien français l'éloigne non seulement des non-Catholiques qui l'entourent dans son propre pays, et sur son continent, mais aussi des Catholiques qui ne sont pas de sa nationalité. Son catholicisme est Canadien-français." ²⁶ Here again do we see a gradual change but has not such a long tradition culminated precisely in what is being witnessed today? It is impossible for the most able Royal

Commission to erase through hearings or the best of recommendations a feeling which for decades has been deeply imbedded. However, a recognition of the cause would in itself be a great step towards its solution. It is of no small significance either that the Ecumenical Council in Rome has encouraged a "rapprochement" between Roman Catholics and Protestants, thus tacitly implying that the latter are no more to be avoided. The foregoing notwithstanding, the fact remains that the association of language and religion has led a large number of English-speaking Protestants to regard the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism with an unusual degree of caution, as it is feared that a greater recognition of the French language may have religious overtones.

IV. PRESENT ISSUES

The present issues facing Confederation have their roots, for the most part, in Canada's unique history. As stated earlier, it is not possible to detach them from the past without distorting their true meaning and even preventing their desirable solution. There is a tendency to view bilingualism and biculturalism as separate and somewhat artificial entities introduced with the appointment of the Royal Commission. In our opinion, these are only the partial expression of a deeper and larger movement, the nature of which is basically reactionary.

a) Reactionary Movements

1. Self-examination: With the publication of the book entitled "Les Insolences du Frère Untel" (French Canada's best seller), there began a frank and public examination of the French Canadian by a French Canadian and member of the Roman Catholic clergy. In his preface to the book, and speaking of the author, André Laurendeau, editor-in-chief of "Le Devoir", said: "L'attitude qui, me semble-t-il, lui convient le mieux, et qui lui permet en tous cas d'aller au bout de lui-même, c'est celle du fils, soumis quand même, qui se plaint des sécheresses d'une autorité trop ritualiste et trop lointaine."²⁷ "Frère Untel" (Brother Anonymous) enjoyed an unprecedented popularity in French Canada, perhaps the best indication

²⁷ Les Insolences du Frère Untel (Montréal: Les Editions de l'Homme, 1960), p. 16

that he was interpreting the mind of a majority. In one of his key passages, the author said: "La peur diffuse dans laquelle nous vivons stérilise toutes nos démarches. Si nous écrivons, il faut que nos propositions soient justifiables devant de potentiels inquisiteurs; si nous agissons, il faut que tous nos actes soient mesurés à l'étalon traditionnel, i.e. qu'ils soient des répétitions. Nous choisissons le plus sûr: ne rien dire, ne rien penser, maintenir. Je me souviens." ²⁸

Brother Anonymous analyzed his own people as he saw them. It was a frank, self-examination. But the publication of the book cost him his liberty. He was exiled to Europe by his church with instructions not to return to Canada as a clergyman (Le Magazine MacLean, Mai 1963). André Laurendeau, in an editorial dated May 7, 1964 (time of this writing) demanded his return as he wrote: "Il existe des exils plus pénibles. Mais ce silence imposé paraît inhumain. Il serait tragique de le maintenir indéfiniment - je le dis bien, tragique: on n'a pas le droit de tuer un écrivain, surtout dans un milieu où l'écrivain populaire est si rare et où ce silence nous appauvrit...C'est dans ce sens que je témoigne aujourd'hui, auprès de ceux qui peuvent nous rendre Pierre Jérôme." ²⁹ It would appear therefore that while a great majority welcomes this frank examination of the facts, the church is not yet ready to accept it.

2. Anti-clericalism: Another expression of this reaction against the past, more specifically against the authoritarian and strongly paternalistic position of the church, is found in the wave of anti-clericalism sweeping over much of French Canada today. In its milder form, it may be sheer indifference and sometimes even outright atheism. More strongly expressed, it is an attack on the clergy. Broadly speaking, it is a resentment against clerical interference in non-religious matters. The typical French-Canadian anti-clericalism was perhaps best expressed by Solange Chaput-Roland when she wrote: "Mes opinions étant défavorables à

28 Ibid., p. 67

29 André Laurendeau, Le Devoir, Editorial May 7, 1964

l'immixtion du clergé dans les affaires publiques, et combattant franchement depuis des années un état d'esprit destiné à permettre au clergé de jouer un rôle trop important dans les affaires laïques, je suis dans ce sens, évidemment anticléricale."³⁰ The writer then goes on to explain that the French Canadian has really been the victim of a blind obedience, thus becoming a pious being without a living faith. Other criticisms of clericalism can be gathered from the following quotations: "Clericalism is an evil...Democracy requires a population mentally adult, educated and responsible.....It is a mistake to believe that the church consists only of the hierarchy."³¹

3. Lay-Movement: It was primarily the realization that a church-controlled education had resulted in economic inferiority which gave birth to the "Mouvement Laïque" in French Canada. In essence, by calling for a French neutral school system in Quebec, the advocates of the Lay Movement (mainly French Canadian Intellectuals and Professionals), stressed that education could best be pursued on a non-confessional basis, leaving to the church and the home the responsibility of teaching religion. The Movement pointed, and indeed does point, to an entirely new concept of education since papal teaching had claimed that "education outside of the Church was heresy" (Pope Pius IX). So closely were the Church and education associated in French Canada that few in the past ever conceived of an education which could be neutral without being atheistic. The Lay Movement set out to prove that it could. In answering the question "what is meant by a neutral school?" the Lay Movement said: "Une école neutre est une école où les croyances de tous sont traitées sur le même pied avec le même respect. Par définition, elle exclut qu'un groupe confessionnel y domine ou tolère simplement les autres."³² The Movement was born out of reaction, but a reaction in the right direction, for it is our conviction that non-sectarian schools in the entire country would go a long way towards solving our national crisis.

30. Solange Chaput-Roland, Quoted in Credo (United Church Publ.) Dec. 1961

31. Rev. Wilfred F. Butcher, Christian Outlook, June-July 1961, "The New Anti-Clericalism in Quebec"

32. Le Devoir, May 25, 1961

4. Nationalism: By their very nature, minorities often tend towards some form of nationalism or other. French Canadians have always been somewhat nationalistic in their outlook, but that trend has been greatly accentuated with the greater freedom of expression and other reactionary pulses.

French Canadian nationalism is really twofold. The first aspect stems from the ideology born at the time of the conquest, and stressing that only language and religion would save the French heritage in North America. Gérard Pelletier wrote in this connection: "Désormais, nous nous donnons pour mission d'édifier une civilisation agricole dont l'unité est la consigne. Toute l'insistance est portée sur les liens très forts qui nous unissent: une seule foi religieuse, une seule langue que du reste nous sommes seuls à parler et qui fait de nous un groupe culturel unique en Amérique."³³ Language and religion do therefore become symbolic of French nationalism. As mentioned earlier, they are best portrayed in the historical motto: "language, guardian of the faith."

The second aspect of French Canadian nationalism comes from a feeling of betrayal. This has been vividly illustrated in the analogy drawn from the biblical characters of Jacob and Esau. The following quotation sums it up well: "Historiquement parlant, il semble que les Canadiens français fassent revivre les personnages d'Esau³⁴ alors que les Canadiens anglais personnifient Jacob. Venus près de deux siècles avant les Anglais sur la terre canadienne, professant un christianisme qui est de seize siècles antérieur à la Réforme, nous possédons incontestablement le droit d'aînesse religieux et politique, et nos compatriotes anglo-saxons sont nos cadets à ces deux points de vue. Et pourtant, depuis deux siècles nous avons l'impression d'avoir été dépouillés de ce double droit d'aînesse, et c'est notre cadet qui a hérité de la bénédiction paternelle, c'est-à-dire de la supériorité économique et de la liberté politique avec tout ce que cela comporte de facilité et d'avantages dans le domaine de l'éducation et de l'avancement social; d'où le complexe de frustration et d'antipathie qui nous caractérise, et auquel s'oppose un complexe de supériorité et de mépris de la part de nos compatriotes anglophones....." It must

33. Gérard Pelletier, La Dualité Canadienne (Ed. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval, 1960, p. 280

34. T.R.P. Louis M. Régis, Ibid. p. 76

be noted that the feeling of retribution is not altogether absent from present-day French Canadian nationalism, an element partly responsible for some of the difficulties encountered in the course of today's "great debate".

5. Separatism: Separatism is nationalism in the extreme. Separatists reject the idea of a minority position in a vast country in favour of a majority in a smaller one. "Le Canada", said Marcel Chaput, "doit décider aujourd'hui, et une fois pour toutes, ce qu'il veut être. Une éternelle minorité en éternel recul dans un immense pays qui ne lui appartient pas, ou bien une majorité vivante et progressive dans un pays plus petit mais bien à lui."³⁵ Separatism naturally rejects the notion of bilingualism for, as Chaput clearly states: "Ainsi le Canada ne serait plus fait de dix provinces dont l'une française, mais de deux territoires - l'un unilingue français, l'autre unilingue anglais - constitutionnellement³⁶ et politiquement égaux."

The concept of separatism is, however, older than Marcel Chaput. An article in "Le Magazine MacLean" (Mai 1963) entitled "La Vérité sur la Patente" (L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier), and written by ex-member Charles Henri Dubé, revealed some rather disturbing aspects of separatism. For example, the writer states that the order recruits leaders in all areas of society and enjoys the support of the ecclesiastical authorities, who are present at every level of the Organization.³⁷ It is also explained that the Order is a secret organization founded in October 1926, the purpose of which is stated as follows in the September - October 1937 issue of the Order's official publication, "L'Emerillon": "The primary goals of the Order of Jacques Cartier are the separation of the Province of Quebec from Confederation, the dominion of the French Canadians, and the independence of the country," Senator Bouchard, in his now historic speech of June 21, 1944, denounced the Order and pointed to the great undermining influence which such principles would have on Confederation.

35. Marcel Chaput, Pourquoi je suis Séparatiste (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961) p. 143

36. Marcel Chaput, Ibid., p. 74

37. Le Magazine MacLean, "La Vérité sur la Patente" (L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier) Mai 1963.

The spread of separatism undoubtedly stands as a major obstacle to Canadian unity, not only in the obvious result which its eventual triumph would bring about, but particularly in the high degree of fear and suspicion which it generates. It is a matter of record that a substantial proportion of English-speaking Canadians associate the advance of the Separatist Movement with the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism, a deduction which although in essence contradictory, does nevertheless not make for the best "rapprochements" between the two cultures.

b) Bilingualism

In an attempt to define the term "bilingualism", those who did so soon discovered that it had a good many meanings. For example, a Canadian belonging to an ethnic group other than French or English usually thinks of bilingualism as English versus his tongue of origin. Some French Canadians regard it as a betrayal of the unilingual idea while others welcome it as a promotion of the French language. Some English-speaking Canadians consider it unnecessary, others oppose it as discriminatory or unconstitutional. Yet there are those who have taken up the study of French as an ideal cultural stimulus and desirable means of communicating with their French-speaking neighbours. Besides all these, there are still those who for sheer "economic survival" have endeavoured to become bilingual.

At the time of writing, a great number of English-speaking Canadians still view bilingualism as an attempt to impose upon them the study of a language which they do not need or desire. It is perhaps the sense of "urgency" advocated by the promoters of bilingualism (for the most part French-speaking Canadians), which has tended to suggest this "ultimatum" attitude not usually appreciated by English-speaking Canadians. It should be remembered that two centuries of history are deeply rooted and cannot be altered without patient education.

Bilingualism "per se" is desirable and most people would agree that the knowledge of two or more languages is from all standpoints beneficial. This fact was clearly confirmed in the answers received from the ministers of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces when they almost unanimously replied "yes" to the question: "Would you like to speak French?"

It is true to say that until the present time, a bilingual person in Canada has usually been thought of as a French-speaking Canadian having a knowledge of the English language. This the French-Canadian has resented, particularly in areas outside the Province of Quebec. Although his feeling is understandable, one cannot escape the very pertinent question at this point: "How bilingual is Canada?" Professor F.R. Scott gives this answer: "The law of the Constitution recognizes English and French as the two official languages of the country, within certain limits. They are on equal footing as regards their use in the Parliament of Canada, in federal statutes, and in federal courts. Since these statutes and courts may operate anywhere in the country, every province is in this sense bilingual. But in provincial legislatures, statutes and courts outside Quebec, English is the sole official language. This results from the wording of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, which reads as follows:

133. Either the English or the French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislatures of Quebec; and both these languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published³⁸ in both those Languages." There is therefore ground for maintaining that technically speaking at least, the Constitution did not view Canada as a totally bilingual country. Of no small significance is the fact that Laurier, the French-Canadian Prime Minister, actually opposed a motion in the House of Commons, the intention of which was to put French "on a footing of equality with the English language in all public matters." Said Prime Minister Laurier: "Instead of affirming pedantically on every occasion our right to speak the French language...it is sufficient for all French Canadians, I am sure, that we have obtained the right to speak French and to use our mother tongue on the floor of this Parliament...But to affirm, as he does, that the French language should be used upon every

38. F.R. Scott, Canadian Dualism. (Ed. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval, 1960) p.99

occasion...is, I think, going a little too far." ³⁹ Part of the present conflict does consequently result from the fact that French Canadians are either no longer satisfied with the traditional interpretation of the Constitution on the matter of bilingualism, or else give it their own which seems to go beyond the intention of the B.N.A. Act itself.

In a country the size of ours, bilingualism advocated to the extreme could easily become unreasonable. What public benefit, for example, could be derived from the insistence upon a bilingual civil servant never required to use a second language? It would seem far more practical and conciliatory to think of bilingualism in terms of the proportionate population. To put it very arbitrarily, an area with a twenty percent French or English population, as the case may be, might justly expect the same percentage of bilingual personnel in public services. This again would not necessarily mean that all of these need be bilingual for in the case of a larger concern particularly, a proportion of the staff might be French-speaking and the other English-speaking. Some organizations such as Telephone Companies and Telegraph services have already adopted a similar policy, so that if an English-speaking operator receives a call from a French-speaking inquirer, she may immediately refer it to the French-speaking employee. A perfectly bilingual person is of course ideal, but most people would rather have fluency in language than a painful attempt by an amateur "bilinguist". We do not believe that it is unreasonable for a French-speaking citizen of Moncton, N.B., for example, where the French population is approximately forty percent, to expect that public services be extended to him in his own language. But this still does not necessarily mean that every employee dealing with the public should himself be bilingual, provided that a French-speaking person is available to provide for the service.

We deem it extremely important to insist on the preceding in the light of a generally expressed fear that "bilingualism" be given priority over other equally important qualifications. If bilingualism should rapidly

39. Laurier, House of Commons Debates, February 25, 1907, Quoted by Norman Ward in Canadian Dualism (Toronto-Laval, 1960) p. 264

become a standard requirement for civil servants and responsible positions, it might well rule out a large segment of otherwise better qualified personnel with the inevitable result of a decrease in general efficiency. Bilingualism is important, but it is not all-important. Norman Ward voiced the concern of many in these words: "It is understandably difficult for a technically qualified English Canadian to accept as his equal a less qualified French Canadian, or to tolerate as his superior a French Canadian whose chief qualification is not his training but his language - especially when, as many argue, English is demonstrably more flexible⁴⁰ than French in the development of technical terminology."

Furthermore, the fact that we are by geographical position part of the English-speaking Continent of North America will of necessity result in the predominance of the English language in the business world. Edward G. Byrne, Q.C., one of the authors of the New Brunswick Report on Financial and Municipal Taxation, recently said: "The North America of which we form a part is - and will continue to be - dominated by one tongue. Our commerce, both internally and externally, and our well-being are dominated by the same tongue...Multi-lingualism we should encourage and promote but ever remembering, as individuals, to provide for that language which is most universal and, therefore, best promotes our⁴¹ development."

Again, we say that bilingualism (and multi-lingualism) is desirable. It is culturally enriching and the only means of communicating with fellow-Canadians belonging to the other cultural group. But for reasons already mentioned, English-speaking Canadians have so far shown little practical interest in learning French, and the French-Canadians have learned English out of economic necessity. It is attitudes which should be changed so that both groups would want to learn the language not their own by origin. This desire can only come by education. For this reason must French-Canadians particularly show patience. It should seem obvious that only the coming generation will fully benefit from a greater emphasis on bilingualism. New teaching methods must be introduced, better teachers of languages must be secured, language and re-

40. Norman Ward, Ibid., p. 267 - 268

41. Edward G. Byrne, Moncton Transcript, May 14, 1964.

ligion must be dissociated, parents must be shown the advantages of a new approach. In brief, one must accept that considerable time will be required to bring about a satisfactory solution. That may be the price to be paid, but it is well worthwhile if one realizes that insistence on an immediate solution might well mean no solution at all.

Bilingualism, however, seldom stands alone in Canada. The very appellation of the Royal Commission confirms it. It is a bilingualism invariably connected with biculturalism.

c) Biculturalism

It is probably because of the intimate relationship of bilingualism to biculturalism that the former has received so little attention from English-speaking Canadians. If the word "culture" is in itself difficult to define, how much more the idea of "biculturalism".

It should be stated at the outset that the English-speaking Canadian is far less conscious of his culture (without inferring that he has less of it) than his French-speaking counterpart. This is perhaps because of a fundamental difference which historian Mason Wade had described as follows: "The French Canadian mind tends to have a theoretical and metaphysical bent, while his English compatriot's tendency is toward the pragmatic and the practical. Each admits, grudgingly or not, that the other has greater talents in some respects. There is the French myth that only 'les Anglais' can manage great business enterprises, while the English yield cultural and creative palm, not to mention the linguistic one, to the French."⁴² It is not surprising therefore that the average English-speaking Canadian should show far less enthusiasm for the emancipation of culture. In fact, the term leaves him rather indifferent. It must not be forgotten either that English Canadian culture, if there is a distinctive one, is multiple in nature, with the Irish and the Scotch and the English and the Canadian of various European backgrounds, making it almost impossible so early to arrive at a unified identity.

French Canadian culture is easier to recognize since it is homogeneous in nature with the two symbols of language and religion ever

42. Mason Wade, Ibid., p. 416

in the forefront. In addressing the Mount Allison University Institute of 1961, Rev. L. F. d'Entremont partly explained French culture in this statement: "We have said nothing of the close relationship between our language and our faith. This would constitute a lecture by itself. Suffice it to say that statistics show that those who strayed away from their childhood language have also strayed away from their faith. For an Acadian to stay Acadian means to stick to his French language." ⁴³ The Roman Catholic faith is thus clearly portrayed as being at the very heart of the French culture. "In fact," Rev. d'Entremont concludes, "the ⁴⁴ foundation of Acadia has been made under the sign of the cross." To this day, few Acadians would think it possible for a former coreligionist to remain a proud and respected Acadian without adhering to his traditional religion. This means in fact that the French Canadian has not yet been ready to accept the possibility of a French culture apart from the Roman Catholic church. French Canadian culture is essentially a religious culture. The false but common accusation that the French Canadian Protestant is almost ipso facto a betrayer of the French culture has repeatedly thrown the latter into the ranks of English-speaking Canada, in our opinion a distinct loss to the French culture itself and to those who abandoned it. Facts bear witness that until very recently, very little had been done to facilitate the education of French-speaking Protestants.

It is reasonable to expect that so long as bilingualism remains intimately related to biculturalism, and as long as the French culture is essentially of a religious nature, a cool reserve towards their respective promotion will be displayed by English-speaking Canadians.

Having stated some fundamental differences and legitimate fears, it does remain imperative to define what is meant by biculturalism. Considerable concern has already been expressed about the term itself,

43. Rev. L. F. d'Entremont, French Canada Today (Mount Allison University, 1961) p. 48

44. Rev. L. F. d'Entremont, *Ibid.*, p. 43

since the "two culture" idea appears divisive. What is biculturalism? Prime Minister Pearson described it in these words: "Not, surely, that our nation has or will have only two cultural sources, French and English, each exclusive of the other. For one thing, English culture and French culture are not, and cannot be, separate and distinct from each other or from other cultural strains in Canada. Cultural segregation, or cultural separatism, is no more welcome than some other forms of segregation or separatism...What biculturalism in our country does and should mean is that there are two strains, French and, for want of a better word, English, which were the foundation of our national society,"⁴⁵ From his declaration, the Prime Minister of Canada seems to dismiss as undesirable a concept which is receiving increasing attention, namely that of a Canada where two major groups of people, French and English, live side by side as separate cultural entities. This is what has become known as the "two-nation" theory to be considered later.

The term "biculturalism" is misleading and unfortunate. It cannot escape the latent implication of segregation. It invites a constant look to the divided past instead of fresh strides towards a stronger national unity. Canada should not want two distinct cultures abiding side by side, but one culture carried by two official vehicles (there are more represented by other ethnic groups), the English and the French languages. To be strong, Canada must think in terms of one culture, namely Canadian culture. The very fact that it can be expressed in more than one language does permit all Canadians to make a maximum contribution to the whole which has been fittingly described as a beautiful "tapestry". Canadians should think of themselves not as being first French, English, or other, but as being simply Canadians. This radical change (for it would be radical for many) will take place only through education. It is perhaps on this ground that countries such as Switzerland (with not two

45. Lester B. Pearson, House of Commons Debates, Vol. 109, No. 3, Feb. 20, 1964. p. 65

but four national languages), have found their greatest asset to confederative unity. The Swiss is above all, proud of being Swiss, not French, German, Italian, or Romanch. He has one basic philosophy of history, not two or three or four. And yet, several centuries of democratic existence have not weakened any of the language groups. Is this not a living proof that national integration without assimilation does and can exist?

The fear is often expressed that should the "one-culture" idea be fulfilled, the French "glorious past" would forever be lost. As Falardeau said: "Le Canadien français n'accepte pas ou, tout au moins tolère mal le fait du Canada. Orchestrant jusqu'au mythe le thème d'un âge d'or et d'un paradis perdu, il restreint impérieusement l'intérêt des Canadiens français au Québec et établit une muraille de défense entre eux et les 'Anglais' considérés comme une espèce humaine 'a priori' hostile et dangereuse."⁴⁶ But history shows that the French Canadian culture itself is changing. And it is changing partially by reason of an English environment which cannot be avoided. It is becoming more Canadian and less French. Many French Canadians, for example, would likely feel less at home in Paris than in Toronto. The trend towards a more Canadian French culture is healthy and should not be arrested by an artificial biculturalism. Culture is something like a river finding its own course through the natural configuration of the land and meandering where the resistance is least. Corrected by the forces of man, it ceases to be a river to become a canal. Canadian culture, given the freedom of its own course, will become one mighty and beautiful river fed by many streams, the two major ones of which will remain the English and the French affluence.

d) Canada, One or Two Nations?

The consideration of biculturalism raises the important question "Is Canada one or two nations?" Many authorities have spoken and written on the subject making clear at least that the terminology is ambiguous. To begin with, the word "nation" has not the same connotation in French and English. To the French Canadian particularly, the word "nation" is

46. Jean C. Falardeau, La Dualité Canadienne, (Ed. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval, 1960) p. 34

a reasonable substitute for the term "race" which became distasteful after the Second World War. It has a moderate national flavour to it, referring primarily to the ethnic group. On the other hand, the English Canadian sees in the word "nation" a political entity or the entire country. As Mr. Laurendeau said, "le Canada anglais n'arrive pas à se penser comme nation."⁴⁷ Regardless of how carefully the words are defined, the "two nations" theory seems to encourage the "Cultural segregation" rejected by Mr. Pearson in his speech on biculturalism. The word "peuple" in the French language would appear to be far closer to the ideal of Confederation than "nation" and would come very close to the English concept of "nation". In speaking, therefore, of the "Canadian Nation" and "le peuple Canadien" one would be, in fact, expressing the same thought.

Those who support the idea that in the ethnic, cultural and sociological sense, Canada is "two nations", do in fact equate the notions of "culture" and "nation", a rapprochement which even in the French language seems somewhat exaggerated.

To think of Canada as two nations in the political sense is of course diametrically opposed to the spirit of Confederation. Eugene Forsey has called the theory of the two nations in a binational state "hemi-demi-semi-separatism".⁴⁸ Mr. Pearson described Confederation as our "Declaration of Faith in the destiny of a united Canada".⁴⁹ Canada is not two states, it is one strong political and social federation of ten provinces sharing equally in the responsibilities and privileges of its central expression.

If Canada is to become strong and united, the ambiguous, misleading, and undesirable thesis of the "deux nations" must be substituted by the type of nation intended by the Fathers of Confederation.

47. André Laurendeau, The Canadian Experiment, Success or Failure? Congress on Canadian Affairs, (Quebec, Laval, 1962) p. 73

48. Eugene Forsey, The Canadian Experiment, Success or Failure? Congress on Canadian Affairs, (Québec, Laval, 1962) p. 57

49. Lester B. Pearson, Equal Partners, December 17, 1962 (National Liberal Federation, Ottawa) p. 1

e) Equal Partnership

One interpretation of equal partnership comes from the view which sees the B.N.A. Act not as a mere agreement between provinces, but between two cultural groups, French and English. Professor Scott made the point very clear when he wrote: "Some recent thinking in Quebec goes far beyond the compact theory and defines Confederation as a fundamental agreement, not merely between provinces, but between the two races, French and English... In this approach there exists a dualism in the Constitution that reflects a predominant fact of Canadian life, and the government of Quebec at once appears as a 'French' and 'Catholic' government, a champion of the race set over against the 'English' and 'Protestant' government of Ottawa. Symbolization of the racial and religious struggle takes place on the constitutional level, though the language of the law is neutral. The treaty-between-races theory explains the importance for Quebec of having its own flag, as a sign of nationhood and its own anthem - 'O Canada' - whose French version hymns the traditions of Old France rather than the aspirations of the new federal state stretching from sea to sea."⁵⁰ A recent declaration by Mr. René Lévesque (Le Devoir, May 11, 1964), Cabinet Minister in the Lesage government of Quebec, caused considerable alarm across the nation when he affirmed that only the statute of "associate state" for Quebec within the frame of Confederation could fulfill the aspirations of French Canada. In effect he came very close to advocating the "two State" theory.

If "equal partnership" means a sharing on the basis of two equal entities, English and French, without consideration given to the proportion of population, this concept will receive no support from Canadians not of French origin. It would be unrealistic and unfair to expect that 28% of the total population could have a voice equal to the other 72%. It is in the matter of individual rights that equality must exist. Edward Byrne, Q.C. stressed the difference when he said: "Equality does not allow for a majority to override the rights of a minority. It is equally true that a minority has no right to attempt to impose the practice of its culture upon the culturally different majority. A majority is entitled to its

50. F.R. Scott, Canadian Dualism, (ED. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval, 1960)
p. 85-86

rights even though, in equity, limited in the exercise of its power;"⁵¹

It would seem again that the term "equal partnership" is highly equivocal. French Canadians and English Canadians ought to have equal rights as individuals, but surely not on the basis of the total population. It was in emphasizing this point that C. B. Sissons said, speaking of the Constitution: "... it bears unmistakable evidence that what the Founding Fathers had in mind was to confer certain advantages on individual subjects of the Queen, and as individuals, not primarily as members of a group. I am in complete agreement with John Sanfield MacDonald, the first Premier of Ontario and a Roman Catholic, in holding that the only right which a minority can properly or safely be given in a democracy is the right in free discussion to persuade the majority of

52

of the justice of their cause."

By equal partnership should be meant that a Canadian, whether French or English, ought to be able to share equally, if he so desires, in all the affairs of the nation while remaining what he is.

It is often in the economy of the country that French Canadians feel the greatest sense of inequality. "One complaint", said Byrne, "is that our fellow French-speaking Canadians have not been given equal opportunity in our world of commerce. I emphasize 'given'. I do not accept this. I must admit that they have not enjoyed on a comparative basis an equal place in commerce, but it is my contention that the reason is that, generally speaking, they have not taken their place in commerce."⁵³

In the first section of this brief, we stressed the various reasons why that place was not taken in commerce and in other areas.

It is difficult to conceive how the writing of a New Constitution could improve the spirit of "equality" inherent in the B.N.A. Act. As French Canadians continue in their new economic consciousness and

51. Edward G. Byrne, Moncton Transcript, May 14, 1964.

52. C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, (Toronto: the Ryerson Press, 1959), p. vi.

53. Edward G. Byrne, Moncton Transcript, May 14, 1964.

progress, by their own initiative taking a place in the Canadian Sun, the sense of inequality will gradually disappear to make room for a comparative share of the Canadian prosperity. As for the B. N. A. Act itself, we must agree with Eugene Forsey when he said: "I remain an unrepentant believer in the Canadian nation the Fathers of Confederation thought they were founding. I think they wrought well. The noble constitutional fabric they reared stands unshaken. Its design was sound. Its foundations were laid on rock as enduring as the Laurentian Shield. Its walls were solidly built, of good Canadian stone. It may need restoration where the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has defaced it. It may need a repair here, an alteration there. But it does not need a wrecking crew or a bombing squad. It needs builders; builders who will carry on the work that Cartier and MacDonald began, and that generations of their successors have continued."⁵⁴

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

Since many of our recommendations are implicit in the views already expressed, only a résumé of them will be necessary in this section.

a) "Slowly but Surely"

It is generally recognized that the present Canadian situation could easily become explosive. For this reason, we would strongly recommend that a long-range solution be given decisive priority. Just as the present crisis is the result of many years of history, it will take time to arrive at conditions satisfactory to all. It would be a grave error, we believe, to try to impose an artificial solution without having first succeeded in securing a basic change of attitude and restoration of mutual confidence. Since attitudes are usually deeply imbedded, it would be unrealistic to set a "deadline" for the implementation of any recommendations which the Royal Commission might make to the Government. Positive steps must be taken, but with the realization that

54. Eugene Forsey, The Canadian Experiment, Success or Failure?
Congress on Canadian Affairs (Québec: Laval, 1962)
p. 67

the old slogan "slowly but surely" may well provide the soundest advice. We agree with former Minister of Justice E. Davie Fulton when he said speaking in French: "...il s'agit ici d'une entreprise d'envergure qui requerra beaucoup de temps et d'efforts et dont les effets substantiels ne se feront sentir que dans l'avenir. C'est le travail d'au moins ⁵⁵ deux générations."

b) Dissociation of Language and Religion

It is our deep and we trust unbiased conviction that a complete dissociation of language and religion would do more than any other single factor in the fostering of bilingualism in Canada. The Commission should, we suggest, give very serious consideration to practical steps which would result in making French and English, but particularly French, completely neutral languages.

We recommend that in education, for example, full recognition be given to the fact that all French-speaking people are not of the Roman Catholic faith.

French C. B. C. programmes could include a "French Protestant Voice" more frequently on interviews, opinions, religious services and the like.

Newspapers and Magazines also could constructively inform and educate so as to dispel, once and for all, the myth that language and religion are synonymous. One would wish to see more of the type of editorial written by Pierre Laporte when he said: "Voici qu'aujourd'hui une autre minorité est née. Elle est composée celle-là de non-catholiques de langue française. Nous pouvons au moins exiger pour ces gens un respect égal de la loi... Les écoles protestantes devront cesser d'être, ⁵⁶ comme à Québec, des foyers d'anglicisation."

55. E. Davie Fulton, Ibid., p. 18

56. Pierre Laporte, Editorial Le Devoir, July 20, 1961.

c) Separation of Church and State

As a Baptist Denomination, we firmly believe in the separation of Church and State in all areas of society. We recommend that this principle be upheld, as concomitant with it is the sense of impartial justice towards all. In wishing that the church in Québec would find again the real sense of its spiritual mission, Bertrand Rioux said:

"La grande tentation de l'Eglise dans l'histoire, c'est de s'en remettre aux moyens propres de l'Etat, c'est-à-dire, la coercition et les lois civiles pour accomplir sa mission difficile de tout instaurer dans le Christ."⁵⁷

It is particularly in the realm of education that the temptation to which Mr. Rioux refers is greatest. We maintain that the principle of non-sectarian schools is sound, in harmony with democratic tenets, inspired by a sense of common justice, and essential to the maintenance of religious liberty. We therefore strongly urge that the Commission include this concept in its recommendations even though education is primarily a provincial responsibility.

d) Federal System of Education

It may seem unrealistic at this particular juncture in Canadian history, when the desire for greater provincial autonomy runs high, to suggest a federal system of education. Yet the advantages of such a system should not be overlooked, as they could well be of great significance in realizing national unity in such a formative and influential field, while at the same time eliminating regionalism, the repercussions of which have often been detrimental to Canadian unity. The vast differences in Canadian education can be seen from the following statement: "In the course of the constitutional evolution since those days, Canada has achieved a peculiar school system which varies from province to province and which ranges in theory from the complete separation of Protestant and Catholic schools, as in Quebec, to the notion of the single, undenominational,

57. Bertrand Rioux, L'Eglise et le Québec, (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1961), p. 109

state-supported public schools, as in British Columbia. In between are several types of separate schools in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the North-West Territories. Newfoundland has added a new note with five kinds of religious schools receiving state support: Catholic, Anglican, United Church, Seventh Day Adventists, and Salvation Army. "⁵⁸

With a federal and non-sectarian system of education, the interests of all minorities would, we feel, better be served and their rights in education more assuredly safeguarded.

e) Integration, not Segregation

Fearing that bilingualism and biculturalism too often tend towards segregation, we recommend that every effort be made to encourage integration rather than the opposite. In this, we agree with Moncton Mayor Leonard C. Jones Jr. that "education in the public schools is the first step towards peaceful co-existence, and that all children, French and English, should be taught together on an integrated basis."⁵⁹ Any type of segregation in public services eventually leads to dissension and is not, in our opinion, in the best interest of a democratic society. What better ground could one find for mutual understanding than the school itself, where French and English children, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and others, meet daily, play together, while at the same time being taught in their own language? It seems rather ironical to expect adults to live in harmony so long as the public school in fact encourages segregation on the basis of language and religion. No matter what useful recommendations might be made for the solution of the present problem, we fail to see the possibility of ultimate success unless the initiative is taken in the public schools. It is here that lasting attitudes are developed and feelings encountered. For the same reason we favour one Teachers' College for New Brunswick with French and English Departments.

58. F. R. Scott, Canadian Dualism, (Ed. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval 1960) p. 96

59. Leonard C. Jones Jr., Moncton Transcript, May 12, 1964.

f) Teaching of Languages

Both French (to English-speaking children) and English (to French-speaking pupils) should, in our opinion, be taught from the first grades up and this by competent teachers. Nothing would do more to foster good relationship between the two groups than the presence of French-speaking teachers in English schools and English-speaking teachers in French schools for the teaching of languages. Not only would there be a greater appreciation of the language and proper emphasis on conversation, but also a healthy and desirable exchange between French-and English-speaking Canadians. It is unfortunately true that many have developed a dislike for either French or English on account of poor teaching methods, mediocre teachers, and the sad realization that even after several years of study, the ability to converse in the second language remained practically nil.

g) Student Exchange

On the university level, we believe that a great deal could be done by the federal government in encouraging, through bursaries or other means, an extensive exchange of students between English-speaking and French-speaking universities. Universities themselves could facilitate and indeed encourage such an approach.

A good many possibilities would doubtless exist also in the matter of summer employment, whereby through some form of pooling system, for example, students again might be advised to seek work where they might at the same time become familiar with a second language.

h) Canadian History

If two students, one French and the other English, were to compare notes on Canadian history, they might at times wonder whether or not they had studied the same country... We believe the subject of history to be of extreme importance in education for it is partially through it that attitudes towards one's country and others are formed. The French Canadian history book, for example, places

a great emphasis on the period preceding 1760. "Ce avec quoi le jeune Canadien Français apprend à s'identifier en étudiant l'histoire", commented Professor Falardeau, "c'est d'abord et principalement la période du régime français en Amérique." ⁶⁰ Mr. Falardeau then points out that according to a survey of history books conducted at Laval University, English history books in the public schools of Quebec allow an equal number of pages to the French and English régimes in Canada, whereas French history books devote three quarters of the pages to the French régime and one quarter only to the ⁶¹ English one.

One knows of course that more important still is the interpretation of events, direct or implied, given by the historian himself. It may be impossible for a writer to be completely unbiased, but we maintain that a more impartial presentation of Canadian history to the coming generation would be a positive step towards greater national unity.

i) Canadian Culture

We have already stated the view that Canada should strive for a distinctive Canadian culture expressed primarily through the two main languages of the country, English and French. It is conceivable that gradually, and perhaps in the not too distant future, Canadians could become more conscious of their "Canadianism". It is in that direction that, in our opinion, one should try to educate.

In connection with the above, we would recommend a Federal Minister of Cultural Affairs, the main task of whom would be the integration of the various cultural backgrounds into one more distinctive Canadian culture. This could be done through Art Galleries, Radio and Television, Representation abroad, emphasis on Canadian

60. Jean C. Falardeau, Canadian Dualism, (Ed. Mason Wade, Toronto-Laval, 1960) p. 23

61. Jean C. Falardeau, Ibid., p. 24

patriotism etc.. The avenues in this field would be almost limitless and, it seems to us, constructive and unifying. Above all, it could instil in all, through tangible ways, the feeling of being simply but proudly, Canadians, without prefix or hyphen.

j) Strong Federalism

Federalism, we believe, is the best method of meeting the aspirations and needs of both French - and English-speaking Canadians. The present trend toward greater provincial autonomy ought to be watched closely as it could easily weaken the entire structure of Confederation. If the spirit of those who founded this country is to prevail, there must be a new awareness that the strength of the country will depend, in the end, on the strength of the Central Government. "The Fathers of Confederation", F. R. Scott wrote, "witnessing the American Civil War, drew the lesson that an exaggerated provincial autonomy could spell disaster, and took steps to avoid any such danger in the Canadian constitution. There is little in Canadian history to suggest that they were mistaken in this view." ⁶² We recommend therefore that in view of the present crisis particularly, Canada retains the concept and practice of a strong federalism.

VI. CONCLUSION

The question asked ought never to be "Do French - and English-Canadians want to live together?", but rather "How can they live together?", for live together they must if Canada is to retain a place of honour in the world.

We have outlined what we believe to be the real and fundamental causes of the Canadian crisis. We view sympathetically the constant frustration which French Canadians have had to face in the past. We regret the feeling of superiority with which English Canadians often regarded their French-speaking compatriots. At the

62. F. R. Scott, Ibid., p. 98

same time, we sustain our basic premise that the frustration, economic and educational inferiority, of the French Canadian, along with his traditional suspicion of the English Canadian, have been due largely to a certain philosophy and ideology promoted by the church of which he has been the product.

Vast changes are taking place in French Canada today, as attested by Premier Jean Lesage when he said: "For at the present time a change is taking place in Quebec, a very profound change. This change, unlike the one that took place when Quebec started to become industrialized, is no longer only at the material level in the lives of Quebecers....To put it more precisely, it is their philosophy of life and history that has changed."⁶³ English-speaking Canadians welcome this change as much as do French Canadians. They want their compatriots of French origin to share in the building of a great Canada. What English Canadians do find difficult to accept, however, is that they should bear the blame for the slowness with which French Canadians have taken their place in the Canadian Sun.

Until some of the dark clouds have dissipated from the Canadian sky, it would be a grave error to think that only a re-writing of the Constitution can provide an acceptable solution. The opposite might be true. Again Premier Jean Lesage cautioned against such radical thinking when he said: "Est-ce à dire qu'il faut maintenant repartir sur un pied nouveau, refaire en somme l'acte confédératif parce qu'il nous est impossible de dire aujourd'hui carrément et sans nuance que le Canada est une réussite ou bien qu'il est une faillite? Je ne crois pas du tout que ce soit nécessaire, car nous avons en main tout ce dont nous avons besoin, comme citoyens de l'une ou de l'autre des dix provinces, pour faire un succès véritable de la grande entreprise commencée il y a à peine cent ans."⁶⁴

63. Jean Lesage, French Canada Today (Mount Allison University, 1961) p. 8-9

64. Jean Lesage, The Canadian Experiment, Success or Failure? Congress on Canadian Affairs (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1962) p. 176

If French Canadians will recognize the basic causes which led them to a generally inferior position in the Canadian economy and pursue their "new philosophy of life", if English Canadians will admit to having often regarded French Canadians as second-class citizens, if both determine sincerely to restore mutual confidence through better understanding and integration without assimilation, then we believe that the future of Canada can truly be great, with a national pride based not primarily on the various ethnic origins, but profoundly in the esteemed privilege of belonging to a people which a multiple background has helped to make truly CANADIAN.

VII. TRANSLATION OF FRENCH REFERENCES

Reference No.

1. "The history of contemporary Canada is the history of tensions, of gradual 'rapprochement' and political accommodation between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians. The symbiosis of these two peoples who have not chosen to live together has often been called a marriage of reason."
5. "A determining element in the mentality of the French Canadian is his religion. The perception which he has of 'others' and the concept of his relationships with others come from a conception of himself and of history which he has received, at the outset, from the Church. It is through the Church that he has been socialized. His psychology, in many ways, is theologically inspired. He does not have to understand and insure a human condition. He has to defend and preserve a sacred condition."
8. "In the end, despite many annoyances, the Church was doubtless freer after the conquest than she was under the French Régime."
13. "No long sociological inquiry is necessary to discover the social importance of the religious in Quebec, for the entire educational organization, the evolution of the labour problem as well as the public welfare, practically depend on ecclesiastical authority."
15. "The French Canadian has through providential design an agricultural vocation; he must leave to others the worries of an economic, industrial, and materialistic life. His real genius must rivet him to the ground or make him return to it. The tools of his destiny are the cross and the plow."
18. "...has not found it difficult to accept the paternalistic precepts of submission, or to take no interest in his temporal destiny. He will never be able to have of democracy the conception which the Anglo-Saxon has, namely that of a political philosophy and a way of life."
19. "The intimate political association between the politician and the priest resulted in every political question becoming a religious dispute and every religious question a political dispute. And so the politician, instead of assuming his responsibilities, hid under the robes of the bishops and the priests as he did during the Manitoba school controversy."
21. "That is why in Quebec, where the Church is omnipresent and plays a predominant role in the social life, it would be unrealistic for politicians to ignore it or consider it as a religious body among others. It is therefore not surprising that here, along with the statute of separation of Church and State, there does exist, in practice, a type of co-operation which borders the statute of union."
24. "The catholicism of the French Canadian is a French catholicism, as all 'foreigners' of the catholic faith who have come in contact with French Canadians have experienced, whether they be Irish settled in Canada for several generations, Italians or Belgians."
25. "His religion is a treasure as well as a defense. From the beginning, he has identified religion with the French language. 'The language, guardian of the faith', is one of the most deeply engraved convictions in the French Canadian soul."

Reference No.

26. "He divides the universe in two categories of men: Catholics and those who are not. More exactly: Catholics and 'heathen'. It is according to this elementary cleavage that he not only separates out also judges and evaluates men and civilizations, the 'Protestant' people of whom his English compatriots are a part, included. He himself is in the category of the privileged ones, already saved. Between him and others, Protestant or heathen, there is an insuperable distance. We are touching here, it can be seen, the bulwark often least visible but the strongest in the relations between the French Canadians, Catholic, and the English Canadians, Protestant. The French Canadian confusedly but obstinately opposes all that which is not Catholic as not receivable. The French Canadian sees in his English compatriot someone with whom he cannot come in contact without risks or perhaps contamination...He fears them (the English) and avoids them. French Canadian catholicism not only keeps him distant from the non-catholic in his own country and on his continent, but also from Catholics who are not of his nationality. His catholicism is a French Canadian catholicism."
27. "The attitude which, it seems to me, describes him best, and which at least allows him to be fully himself, is that of a son who, while obedient, complains of an arid authority too ritualistic and too distant."
28. "The widely spread fear in which we live sterilizes all our undertakings. If we write, our propositions must be justifiable before potential inquirers; if we act, our actions must be according to tradition, e.g. they must be repetitions. We choose the safest: we don't say anything, we don't think, we maintain. I remember."
29. "Some exiles may be harder. But this imposed silence seems inhuman. It would be tragic to maintain it indefinitely - I say, tragic: One does not have the right to kill a writer, especially in a milieu where popular writers are so rare and where this silence makes us poor...It is in this sense which I witness to-day before those who are able to give us back Pierre Jérôme."
30. "My views do not favour the interference of the clergy in public affairs and, opposing openly a state of mind which would allow the clergy to play too great a part in secular things, I am, in that sense, of course anti-clerical."
32. "A neutral school is a school where the beliefs of all are treated on the same basis and with the same respect. By definition, it does not allow that one confessional group should control or simply tolerate others."
33. "From now on, we make it our mission to build a rural civilization of which unity is the motto. We insist entirely on the very strong ties which unite us: one religious faith, one language which we in fact alone speak, and which makes of us a unique cultural group in North America."
34. "Historically speaking, it seems that French Canadians bring back to life Esau while English Canadians personify Jacob. Having come on Canadian soil almost two centuries before the English, professing a Christianity sixteen centuries older than the Reformation, we incontestably possess the religious and political birthright, and from these two standpoints our English compatriots are the juniors. Yet for two centuries we have felt deprived of this double birthright, and it is our junior who has inherited the paternal blessing, that is economic superiority and political

Reference No.

- 34.(cont.)liberty with all the facilities and advantages which they entail in education and social development; whence the complex of frustration and antipathy which characterizes us, matched by a complex of superiority and contempt on the part of our English compatriots."
35. "... must decide today, once and for all, what it wants to be. An eternal minority going eternally backward in a vast country which is not his, or else a living and progressive majority in a smaller country which belongs to him."
36. "Thus Canada would be no longer ten provinces one of which is French, but two territories - one unilingual and French, the other unilingual and English, constitutionally and politically equal."
46. "The French Canadian does not accept, or unwillingly tolerates, the Canadian fact. Making almost a myth of the idea of a golden age and lost paradise, he imperiously restricts the French Canadian interests in Quebec and puts up a wall of defense between him and 'les Anglais', considered as a human species a priori hostile and dangerous."
47. "English Canada is not able to think of itself as a 'nation'".
55. "We are here faced with a stupendous undertaking which will require much time and efforts, and the substantial effects of which will only be felt in the future. It is at least the work of two generations."
56. "And so today another minority is born, that one composed of French-speaking non-catholics. We can at least demand for these people equal respect before the law...The Protestant schools will have to cease being, as is the case in Quebec, anglicizing centers."
57. "The great temptation of the Church, in history, is to use the means of the State itself, that is coercion and civil laws, to accomplish its difficult mission to instaurate all in Christ."
60. "That with which the young French Canadian learns to identify himself is first and principally the period of the French régime in North America."
64. "Does it mean that it is now necessary to start afresh on a new footing, to remake the Act of Confederation because it is impossible to say today, outright and without qualifications, whether Canada has been a success or a failure? I do not think at all that it is necessary, for we have at our disposal all that we need, as citizens of any of the ten provinces, to make a real success of a great undertaking begun barely one hundred years ago."

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TITLE: Brief Presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and
Biculturalism.

AUTHOR: United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces
Committee on Protestant Affairs.

Brief of 44 pages; 10 recommendations

REMARKS OF ANALYST: The central thesis of this brief holds that Canadian Bilingualism and biculturalism have been historically rooted in religion. The meaning of the past is therefore of major importance in the understanding of the Canadian problem. From the beginnings, as well as from the social, economic and political aspects, it can be seen that a typical philosophy of life inspired largely by the church has in the past prevented the French Canadian from accepting the place in the Canadian sun to which he aspires to-day.

Canada must be one nation (not two) where equality belongs to all citizens, regardless of cultural background, but where a sense of proportion according to population is respected. (Summary pages 2 - 3)

The brief is very well documented and is presented in a logical fashion.

ATT.: RESEARCH

TABLE OF CONTENTS:	PAGES
RECOMMENDATIONS:	32 - 38
BRIEF:-	
<u>Summary</u>	2 - 3
<u>Introduction</u>	4
<u>The Meaning of the Past</u>	6 - 16
Beginnings	6 - 8
Social and Economic Aspects	9 - 10
Political Aspects	10 - 13
Religion and Language	13 - 16
<u>Present Issues</u>	16 - 32
Reactionary Movements	16 - 21
Self-Examination	16 - 17
Anti-clericalism	17 - 18
Lay Movement	18
Nationalism	19 - 20
Separatism	20 - 21
Bilingualism	21 - 25
Biculturalism	25 - 28
Canada, one or two Nations	28 - 30
Equal Partnership	30 - 32
<u>Conclusion</u>	38 - 40
<u>Translation of French References</u>	41 - 43
<u>Bibliography</u>	44

SUMMARY:

The United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces represents 610 Churches, 311 Ordained Ministers, 135 Licentiates and 200,000 people.

INTRODUCTION: Pages 4 - 5

Canadian Bilingualism and biculturalism are historically rooted in religion and historical analysis is therefore necessary.

The Convention concedes the fact of the historical inferiority of French Canadians and of their lack of equality and recognizes the necessity of sympathetic consideration of their demands.

However the present situation of the French Canadian is a result of factors other than his alleged position of a conquered people.

There is a problem of communication; French and English meet only intermittently; there has been a 'mariage de raison'. In social and literary terms we are more foreign to one another than the French and English of Europe.

It is too early to tell whether the meeting occasioned by the Royal Commission will be forced or not, but there is a necessity of sincerity, kindness, understanding and particularly frankness, despite the genuine desire, usual in such confrontations, not to irritate the other party.

THE MEANING OF THE PAST: Pages 6 - 16

In French Canada there has been an association of creed and culture and the History of French Canada is to a large extent the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada.

Beginnings: Pages 6 - 8

Of the early seignorial system, the royal government and the Roman Catholic Church, the church was not the least important and the clergy took a direct and active part in the political and economic life of the colony.

The Quebec Act granted the church more liberty than she had been enjoying at the end of the French regime, although the retention of the Civil Code was to prove a grave block to unity; the Act had the effect of allowing French Canadians to become British without becoming English.

Lord Durham, though well intentioned, accidentally demonstrated the folly of trying to impose a language and a culture on a people unwilling to accept them, a lesson not to be forgotten in modern Canada.

Social and Economic Aspects: Pages 9 - 10

The social and economic development of the French Canadian, particularly his education, was centered around the church; an emphasis on the humanities and religious instruction left the French Canadian education weak in the sciences.

The idea, in Quebec, that the French Canadians were limited exclusively to safeguarding their traditional interests gave rise to a sense of mission which served to rivet the French Canadians to the Cross and the Plow.

There is a difference of philosophy between the French Canadian and his English neighbour; he has traditionally believed that English-speaking Protestants were to be avoided, not sought and pitied, not envied.

Present French Canadian economic grievances are not the result of English oppression but the logical consequences of their traditional philosophy of life.

It is necessary therefore to understand the historical causes of the present problems.

Political Aspect: Pages 10 - 13

There is a basic difference of political viewpoint: the tendency of Catholic nations, particularly Quebec, accustomed to spiritual authority is to seek solutions other than by a mere

counting of heads.

In Quebec, the Church assumed what in fact amounted to political authority in trying to safeguard the faith.

The influence of the French regime's theory of the divine right of kingship conditioned French Canadians for submission and the reaction against democracy which followed upon the French Revolution further hampered political development.

The political inferiority complex of the French Canadian is a result of the politico-religious situation of the XIXth Century.

The silent revolution of recent years has produced changes, but the earlier confusion between the Church and State has contributed to the present attitude of French Canada towards English Canada.

English Canadians have too often exploited the political weakness of the French Canadians by behaving as though they believed that democracy was not for French Canadians.

The French Canadians were historically conditioned to believe that government was the function of wealth and power which was held in Quebec by large English corporations; there is a record of bribery at elections with the money coming from large corporations controlled by English money.

The present union of Church and State in Quebec is difficult to assess but is still intimate.

No amount of political back-slapping will change the fact that democracy in Canada will continue to be thwarted in Canada so long as one third of the people hardly believe in it - and that because the remaining two thirds provide them with ample grounds for distrusting it.

Religion and Language: Pages 13 - 16

The distinction of mentality between French and English is most marked in the realm of religion. It is surprising that so little has been heard so far in this connection during the

numerous hearings of the commission.

Now that a new religious climate openly accepts and even advocates changes in the church, the task of looking into this delicate but pertinent matter ought to be considerably easier.

The English Canadian regards the French Canadian as a Roman Catholic par excellence.

Since English Canadians are predominantly Protestant and French Canadians overwhelmingly Catholic, there has been an association of language and religion.

The type of Catholicism in French Canada is what might be called "French Canadian catholicism".

This marriage of language and religion has given birth to the firmly anchored conviction, that language is the guardian of faith.

This close association of language and religion has perhaps been the main cause of tension between French and English in this country.

This has discouraged the learning of the other language by either group: to learn French was to study catechism; to learn English was to endorse the Reformation.

Once this myth is removed, through education largely, the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism will be rid of one of its major obstacles.

The doctrinal belief of French Canadians has made them suspicious of their English compatriots since Catholics (until the recent correction made by Vatican Council II) have traditionally believed that Protestants are heretics.

The French Canadian confusedly but obstinately opposes all that which is not Catholic as not receivable; French Canadian Catholicism not only keeps him distant from the non-catholic in his own country and on his continent, but also from Catholics who are not of his nationality. His catholicism is a French Canadian catholicism.

It is impossible for a Royal Commission to erase feelings imbedded for decades, but recognition of its cause is a step towards solving the problem.

The fact remains that the association of language and religion has led a large number of English-speaking Protestants to regard the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism with an unusual degree of caution as it is feared that a greater recognition of the French language may have religious overtones.

PRESENT ISSUES Pages 16 - 32

The present problems have their roots in history.

Reactionary Movements Pages 16 - 27

Self-Examination

The self-examination of the French Canadian was begun in recent years, particularly by "Les Insolences du Frère Untel"; although a majority of the population seems to welcome a frank examination of the facts, the Church is not yet ready to accept it.

Anti-clericalism Pages 17 - 18

Takes a mild or stronger stand within Quebec and may be considered, broadly speaking, as a resentment against clerical interference in non-religious matters. There is complaint that the French Canadian has become a pious being without a living faith.

Lay Movement Page 18

Supported largely by French Canadian Intellectuals and Professionals the movement was born of the realization that church-controlled education resulted in economic inferiority.

Pointing to a new concept since Pope Pius IX declared that "education outside the church is heresy", the movement calls for a non-confessional school system in Quebec.

It is the conviction of the Convention that non-sectarian schools in the entire country would go a long way towards solving our national crisis.

Nationalism

Pages 19 - 20

It is a natural tendency of minorities to be nationalist; this has been accentuated in Quebec by freedom of expression and other reactionary pulses.

In French Canada, it stems from the identity of language and religion and from a feeling of betrayal; the feeling of retribution is not altogether absent.

Separatism

Pages 20 - 21

Separatism is nationalism in the extreme and rejects the idea of a minority in a vast country in favour of a majority in a smaller one.

Separatism is not a recent idea and was advocated by L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier in the September - October (1937) edition of L'Emerillon, its official publication.

The present separatist movement is a major obstacle to Canadian unity - aside from the result its triumph would have - since it engenders fear and suspicion.

It is identified by a substantial number of English Canadians with the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism.

Bilingualism

Pages 21 - 25

There is a difficulty in defining this term; some of the other ethnic groups regard it as English versus their mother tongue.

Some French Canadians distrust as a betrayal of the unilingual idea while others welcome it as a promotion of French.

It is presently viewed by many English Canadians as an attempt to impose the study of another language upon them and the sense of 'urgency' has resulted in an ultimatum attitude not usually appreciated.

Bilingualism per se is desirable and most people would agree. When asked "Would you like to speak French?", the ministers of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces replied "yes" almost unanimously to the question.

Technically, the Constitution did not view Canada as a totally bilingual country; only the Federal and Quebec legislatures and judiciary are bilingual.

Part of the present conflict is a result of French content with the traditional interpretation of the Constitution on bilingualism or an attempt to give it a new interpretation.

In a country the size of ours, bilingualism advocated to the extreme could easily become unreasonable. It would seem far more practical and conciliatory to think of bilingualism in terms of proportionate population.

An area with twenty percent French population might justly expect the same proportion of bilingual personnel in public services or a similar proportion of French-speaking staff.

"We do not believe that it is unreasonable for a French-speaking citizen of Moncton, N.B., for example, where the French population is approximately forty percent, to expect that public services be extended to him in his own language." (Page 23)

Insistence nonetheless that bilingualism, if made a standard requirement, might rule out better qualified personnel; it is understandably difficult for a qualified English Canadian to accept as his equal a less qualified French Canadian whose chief qualification is not his training but his language.

English is the predominant language in the North American business world.

"Again we say that bilingualism (and multilingualism) is desirable." (page 24)

The desire can only come by education. New teaching methods must be introduced, better teachers of language must be secured, language and religion must be dissociated, parents must be shown the advantages of a new approach. Time is a price worth paying.

Biculturalism Pages 25 - 28

The French Canadian mind tends to have a theoretical and metaphysical bent, while his English compatriot's tendency is

toward the pragmatic and the practical. Each admits, grudgingly or not, that the other has talents in some respects. There is the French myth that only 'les Anglais' can manage great business enterprises, while the English yield cultural and creative palm, not to mention the linguistic one, to the French.

The English Canadian is less conscious of the emancipation of culture and English-Canadian culture if there is one is multiple in nature; French-Canadian culture is homogeneous and easier to recognize, because of close association, again, of language and religion.

This accounts for the difficulty of French Protestants in retaining contact with their language. As long as French-Canadian culture is essentially religious, a cool reserve will be displayed by the English.

The term "biculturalism" is misleading and has a latent implication of segregation.

Canada should not want two distinct cultures abiding side by side, but one culture carried by two official vehicles. To be strong, Canada must think in terms of one culture, namely Canadian culture.

Canadians should think of themselves not as being first French, English, or other, but as being simply Canadians. This radical change will take place only through education. Thus the example of Switzerland.

There is a fear, often expressed, that the French past would forever be lost in the fulfilment of the one-culture idea. But history shows that French Canadian culture itself is changing, partially by reason of an English environment which cannot be avoided; it is becoming more Canadian and less French.

Canada, One or Two Nations? Pages 28 - 30

There is a problem of terminology: "nation" means "ethnic group" to the French Canadian but "the entire country" to the English Canadian.

The word "peuple" is closer to the English meaning of "nation" and approaches the idea of Confederation.

To think of Canada as two nations in the political sense is opposed to the spirit of Confederation; and is in fact a form of separatism. It must be rejected.

Equal Partnership Pages 30 - 32

There is an interpretation to the effect that the B.N.A. Act is more than an agreement between provinces but is rather an agreement between the two cultural groups; one setting up the French, Catholic government at Quebec to balance the English, Protestant government at Ottawa.

This idea must of course be rejected.

By equal partnership should be meant that the individual Canadian, whether French or English, ought to be able to share equally, if he so desires, in all the affairs of the nation while remaining what he is.

There is no need to re-write the constitution; it would be hard to improve on the spirit of equality inherent in the B.N.A. Act and the increasing consciousness of French Canadians will cause the gradual disappearance of the sense of inequality.

RECOMMENDATIONS Pages 32 - 38

CONCLUSION

The Convention has a sympathetic view of French Canadian frustration in the past and regrets the feeling of superiority displayed by English Canadians.

The question ought not to be whether French and English want to live together, but rather how can they best live together.

Concluding paragraph:

"If French Canadians will recognize the basic causes which led them to a generally inferior position in the Canadian economy and pursue their new philosophy in life, if English Canadians will admit to having often regarded French Canadians as second-class

citizens, if both determine sincerely to restore mutual confidence through better understanding and integration without assimilation, then we believe that the future of Canada can be truly great, with a national pride based not primarily on the various ethnic origins, but profoundly in the esteemed privilege of belonging to a people which a multiple background has helped to make truly CANADIAN".

